

A SUMMARY
OF
UNIVERSAL HISTORY;
IN NINE VOLUMES.

EXHIBITING
THE RISE, DECLINE, AND REVOLUTIONS OF THE
DIFFERENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD,
FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF
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VOL. I.

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BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE work now presented to the public is compiled on the plan, and follows the arrangement, of the English Universal History, of which it is, in general, an abridgement; nor could the author, with respect to ancient history especially, have chosen a more judicious and accurate guide. The merit of that History has been long generally acknowledged; it was compiled by writers of distinguished learning and abilities; and composed, with great labour, from the most authentic materials afforded by ancient and modern authors. By the greater part of readers, however, it must be esteemed too copious and diffuse; on which account the present *Summary* was projected by M. Anquetil, who has, with great judgement, and, at the same time, with all that elegant

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ease and vivacity for which his nation has been particularly distinguished, compressed into nine volumes what in the original is dilated through more than sixty of much larger contents.

It is but justice to the care employed in the Translation to add that, in point of accuracy, it may claim a considerable superiority to its original, which, probably, was printed without being revised by the author; as a great number of the names have been disfigured by typographical errors, and, in some places, mistakes of even more importance are found. All these have been carefully corrected, according to the original History; though no liberty of that kind has been taken where it appeared probable that the author intended a deviation from the work he in general followed, in consequence of preferring some other authority. As a proof how scrupulously this rule has been observed, it may be noticed, that no alteration has been made in the chronology of the ancient part of this history, which follows what is called the Samaritan computation; and was that adopted in the first edition of the Universal

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History, though afterwards altered, in the second, to that of the Hebrew text, according to the system of archbishop Usher.

The Modern History of the kingdoms and states of Europe has been continued by M. Anquetil to the present time; and exhibits a faithful, though concise, view of the momentous occurrences of which they have lately been the theatre. His account of the principal events that preceded and accompanied the French revolution is particularly conspicuous for its moderation and impartiality: and his character of the late king of France is, in reality, a eulogium of the most liberal kind. He never deviates from the plain and interesting narrative of facts, to indulge in political theory and declamation; and the sentiments he expresses on the subjects are, invariably, such as can give offense to none but the furiously factious.

The preface by the author, consisting principally of reasons for preferring the title that has been adopted, and remarks on some French words, appeared to be of little importance to an English reader, and has therefore been omitted. The following reflexions, however, allusive to the situation of his own country while he was employed

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in this work, must not be suppressed, as they are equally just and pathetic.

“ It is nearly ten years since I undertook
“ this work, which has not only employed
“ me agreeably, but often greatly interested
“ me by the frequent resemblance of the
“ events I was describing to those which
“ daily passed before my eyes. I even in-
“ cline to believe it was the presence of
“ objects so similar to those portrayed in
“ ancient history, that has sometimes given
“ to certain parts of the narrative a vivacity
“ and a warmth, of which, possibly, it might
“ otherwise have been destitute.

“ It is, I am convinced by experience—it
“ is amid the vortex of a revolution, seated
“ on the ruins it accumulates, in the gloomy
“ solitude of a dungeon, beneath the me-
“ nacing axe of the executioner, that we
“ may read with real profit the history of
“ those perfidies and phrensies by which the
“ world has been involved in misery, and
“ drenched in blood.

“ Could, for example, any doubts be en-
“ tertained with respect to the extent and
“ horrors of the proscriptions of Marius and
“ Sylla; the cool and insulting iniquity of
“ the tribunal of Præneste; the victims

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“ hurried in crowds to the sword of the
“ executioner, or torn to pieces by the
“ multitude; the affassination of four
“ thousand men murdered so near the se-
“ nate that their cries of despair and ago-
“ nizing groans were heard by that assem-
“ bly;—all such doubts must vanish at the
“ sight of our revolutionary tribunals; our
“ funereal carts dragging to death the old
“ man and the youth, the mother and the
“ daughter, the newly married husband and
“ his blooming bride, while the multitude
“ looked on with stupid or ferocious eye,
“ at the sight of the pits and caverns which
“ yawned to receive the carcases; the bodies
“ yet palpitating hurried away by the rivers;
“ or those they whelmed, chained together,
“ beneath their waters; the proscribed mur-
“ dered in prisons; the wretches exposed
“ without defense to the thundering engines
“ of war, who fell at every volley dead or
“ dying, or only rose to be dispatched by
“ their barbarous guards; while monsters—
“ I shudder at the thought—exulted in these
“ scenes, and forbad, nay cruelly punished,
“ every symptom of compassion. All these
“ facts, when we are witnesses to them,

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“ present to our eyes what is sometimes
“ comprized in two pages of history !

“ As for myself, after the mournful medi-
“ tations excited by the reading of these
“ pages, I usually found in the succeeding
“ encouragement for hope. I was like a
“ traveller, who, surprized in the midst of
“ a forest by the tempest, hears the thunder
“ roar, and the winds howl among the
“ trees, some of which are violently bent
“ above his head, while others are torn up by
“ the roots with a dismal crash ; yet still he
“ advances, till he at length perceives some
“ rays of serenity which revive his hopes.
“ In like manner, far from suffering my
“ progress to be arrested by the storm, I
“ was only the more ardent to continue my
“ course, and hastened to finish a scene of
“ horror, to trace one more consoling. These
“ alternations of fear and hope at length
“ subsided into a full confidence in HIM
“ who sports with the projects of men, and
“ sinks the abyss at the foot of the throne
“ erected by ambition ; and from this confi-
“ dence resulted resignation, and, excepting
“ a few moments of disquietude, perfect
“ tranquillity.” 4 DE 65

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SUMMARY

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

HAS the world been created, or is it eternal? If it is eternal, is it not the Deity himself? Is it not matter that is eternal? and has not form been given to it, in time, by a Being sovereignly powerful and intelligent? These are questions concerning which philosophers have been divided since the first existence of philosophy to the present day; guided by them, whole nations have embraced opinions on these subjects, which have become to them a kind of religious doctrines.

Opinions relative to the creation of the world.

The Phœnicians, who are supposed to have been the first people who reflected on the nature of their existence, taught that the principle of the universe was an *opaque air*, filled with an *impetuous spirit*; a disturbed and dark *chaos*, which this *spirit* arranged in order.

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With the Egyptians, who likewise believed a *chaos*, *motion* supplied the place of spirit. This motion threw the fiery particles upwards, by which were produced the sun and other heavenly bodies. The slimy and gross matter fell by its weight and became the earth, which pressed, so to speak, by its own gravity, forced out the water on all sides, which formed the seas; and as the porosity of the earth was sufficient to admit the rays of the sun, a fermentation took place that gave birth to animals, with which the earth was peopled; but new ones were no longer formed, when, becoming dry and hard, it was no longer acted on internally by the celestial heat.

The Chaldeans and Babylonians, in like manner, held that a hideous chaos produced monsters, which were the first inhabitants of the earth. Bel destroyed them; brought to perfection the sun, moon, and the five planets; and gave birth to men.

Orpheus, who may be considered as the first theologian of paganism, represents *æther*, or the heavens, as created by a being, whom he calls the *counselling light*, and *source of life*, and to whom he ascribes the attributes of *invisible*, *incomprehensible*, and *creator* of all things. From this first idea, which is grand and sublime, he descends to suppose, that from an egg, the pro-

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geny of *chance*, all the generations of mankind were produced.

Hesiod places this first egg in the vast bosom of chaos, and derives from it *beneficent love*, furnished with golden wings, and impetuous as the hurricane. From *love* and *chaos* were produced men and animals.

Anaximenes and Anaximander supposed that generation and corruption arose from a *circular motion* impressed on the world from all eternity.

Anaxagoras and Diogenes of Apollonia, disciples of the former, enlarged and improved the hypothesis of their masters, by admitting an *intelligent being*, distinct from matter, who impressed motion on the latter.

A similar disagreement is found between the inventors of atoms and their disciples. Leucippus supposed them to move fortuitously, and clash and mingle without any determinate direction; Epicurus imagined them to move obliquely; Democritus bestowed on them animation. Among the moderns, Gassendi retained atoms and a void. Descartes asserted a *plenum*; and for atoms substituted a subtle matter, which he made to revolve rapidly in vortices under the directions of an *intelligent being*, the architect of the world.

But is this being matter endowed with in-

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telligence, or, are matter, and intelligence two beings distinct from each other? According to Hippasus and Heraclitus, *fire* is the principle of all things, and this fire is *God*.

According to the stoics, at the head of whom was Zeno, the two principles are *spirit* and *matter*; the one active, the other passive, and both corporeal. There is no immaterial substance. Spirit sustains, vivifies, and penetrates the whole universe, and each of its parts, as the soul fills the body. Thus every part of the world is a portion of the divinity, and the world, as a whole, is incorruptible. Spinoza revived this system, which is still in repute among the Indians and Chinese, and even among the cabalistic Jews, who, in consequence, are not exempt from the suspicion of atheism.

The opinion which admits two distinct principles, independent of each other, is supported by great names. Pythagoras, Aristotle, Socrates, and Plato. The disciples of these celebrated men, themselves also celebrated, Empedocles, Plutarch, and others, introduced varieties into the system of their masters, of which, however, they retained the general principle; and in this they were imitated by some heretical christians; as the manicheans, the marcionites, and the paulicians.

From the expressions of these ancient philo-

sophers, we might be led to infer that they believed the world to be eternal. But whole nations have believed, and still believe, the world to have had a beginning; that it was created out of nothing by the supreme power of God; and that, consequently, from its own nature, it is subject to dissolution. This was the doctrine of the Etrurians, or ancient Tuscans, the old Persians, the Indians, and their philosophers the magi and the brachmans; the Gauls and their druids; the Chinese, the Japanese, and even several of the nations of America, whose opinions we shall state, as we successively introduce these nations to the notice of the reader.

From an examination of all these systems, it will no doubt appear that the most rational is that of Moses. His exordium is truly sublime, and has been always cited as a model of eloquence.—“In the beginning God created the
“heavens and the earth. He said let there be
“light, and there was light. He made the firmament, and divided the waters which were
“under the firmament from the waters which
“were above the firmament. He said let the
“earth bring forth grass, and trees yielding
“fruits; let there be lights in the firmament
“of heaven, the greater light to rule the day,
“and the lesser light to rule the night, and let

Account of
Moses.

“ them be for signs, and for seasons, and for
 “ days, and for years: let the waters bring
 “ forth abundantly the moving creature that
 “ hath life, and fowl that may fly above the
 “ earth; let the earth bring forth the living
 “ creature after his kind, and creeping thing
 “ and beast of the earth after his kind, and let
 “ them increase and multiply in the earth.”—

As the completion of the creation, God made man in his own image, called him Adam, and gave him a companion, whom he named Eve.

The crea-
 tion, how
 effected.

It would doubtless be pleasing to know by what means God arranged the chaos in order; whether, as Descartes imagined, by causing vortices to revolve composed of matter infinitely divisible, or as Burnet supposed, solely by impressing on it a first motion, and leaving the elements to act according to their specific qualities; by which the earth was carried to the centre, the water was distributed around it; and the air and fire ascended, according to the Newtonian laws of attraction; or whether, lastly, we are to adopt the hypothesis of Mr. Whiston, who confining himself, like Moses, to the creation of our globe and its accessories, supposes that it was at first a comet, which God had prepared by a long and violent ebullition for the arrangements which were completed within the six days.

So many attempts to discover what can never be known, must only compel us to regret that men of sense should employ themselves in enquiries, in which science is exhausted equally without utility and without success. This extravagance, which has always existed, and still exists, is conspicuous likewise in the opinions relative to the essence of spirits and bodies, and especially in the disputes on the nature and attributes of man.

Man, according to Moses, was, when created, placed in a delightful garden, called the terrestrial paradise. It cannot be doubted but that both he and his wife were created of adult age, and that they were a pair perfect in beauty. But the talmudist rabbins improve on this idea, and magnify their dimensions, till they represent them as large enough to reach from one end of the earth to the other; for, say they, Adam must have been able to pass the seas, to visit the different parts of his domain. They admit, however, that after his fall, his stature was reduced to a hundred ells; and the mahometan doctors do not assign to him a greater height than that of a lofty palm-tree. As for his mind, these doctors assure us, it must have been the receptacle of all the sciences; nor have any arts been invented, with all the principles and processes of which he was not acquainted.

Qualities of
Adam.

This mind, this divine breath, is what we call the soul. Concerning this, it has been asked; does God create a soul for every man as he is born, or did he at first create as many as should be necessary as long as the human race shall exist? Those who deny the former opinion, will not admit that God must, as it were, take particular cognizance of the union of the sexes, in order to create a soul as soon as it takes place. On the other hand, their opponents object, to what purpose should there be such a number of souls useless and idle, or how are they employed till their turn comes to animate bodies?

Pythagoras obviates the objection drawn from the inactivity in which such a multitude of souls must remain during so many thousands of ages, by supposing that only so many were created as there would be men existing on the earth at one time. When their number was complete, as soon as a man should die, his soul was to pass into the body of another, who would be born the same moment, and this succession, which has continued from the first instant that these souls were formed, prevents them from at any time remaining in a state of inactivity. This is the system of the *metempsychosis*, which the followers of this philosopher considered as the best adapted to explain all difficulties arising

from the nature of moral good and evil. It has been embraced by several ancient nations, and is still taught by the gymnosophists, a sect of Indian philosophers.

If the creation of souls has given occasion to Negroes. disputes, that of bodies has not less embarrassed careful enquirers. The first couple, say they, was either white or black. If they were white, whence have we negroes? If they were black, whence are the whites? They conclude, therefore, that there has existed, before or since Adam, a race of men of which he was not the father, and of a different colour from his. But are we sufficiently acquainted with the influence of climate, the force of imagination in mothers, and other physical causes, to pronounce positively that the white complexion can never be darkened to black, or the black changed to white?

As there is a gradation among beings, from those ^{Genii; Sylphs.} who have only a simple existence, as a stone, to those who add to that existence the life of vegetables, and thence to animals which feel, and to men who think and reason; a link would be wanting in this chain, if between *man*, so limited in his faculties, and *God*, the most perfect being, there were not some intermediate beings more perfect than man, and less perfect than God. From this analogy is supposed to be deduced a proof of the existence of substances purely spiritual,

but which have the faculty of clothing, and actually clothe themselves in thin and subtile bodies, formed of a cloud or vapour, which they assume and lay aside at pleasure. Some religions ascribe to them every passion and every virtue. With these they inspire men; and are appointed, under the orders of the supreme Being, to govern the world, impel and guide the planets in their orbits, and direct the events of human life.

Their names are different, according to the difference of times and places. According to some philosophers, especially the Greeks, every man had his attendant genius who admonished, reproved, or encouraged him. Frequently the tutelar genius of one person opposed the genius of another. You, perhaps, may be silent before me, and feel my presence impose a restraint on you; the reason of which is, that my genius has an ascendancy over your's. The same ascendancy of one genius over another decided the fate of a city, a province, or an empire.

The Persians had their peris, a kind of supernatural heroes, warlike and gallant; the Romans their sylvans, dryads, and nymphs. Our ancestors believed in fairies, sylphs, and ondins, in which, perhaps, the cabalists still believe. The catholic christians are convinced of the existence of angels and demons, the former of which

suggest to men good thoughts, and incite to good actions; while the latter tempt them to commit evil.

Such are the real or imaginary beings which are supposed to have been in possession of the world when Adam and Eve were first created.

The first abode of the original pair was the terrestrial paradise of which Moses has circumstantially described the situation. The traces of it have been sought, without considering that they must have been effaced by the deluge. As they have not been found, paradise has been placed wherever prejudice, predilection, or fancy suggested; in Asia, Europe, Africa, and even in America; so ingenious are men in inventing plausible arguments to support error.

The terrestrial Paradise.

Our first parents entered into the terrestrial paradise under an awful condition—"Of every tree of the garden ye may freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil ye shall not eat; in the day that ye eat thereof, ye shall surely die." Moses relates the violation of this injunction and its consequences.

Fall of Adam.

The fruit was "pleasant to the eyes;" it tempted Eve, and she desired it. Fear caused her to hesitate; the serpent encouraged her; "she took of it and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat." Immediately their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and covered them-

selves with fig-leaves to conceal their shame. God calls them, reproaches them with their crime, and ironically taunts them for having believed that this fruit would render them like the eternal Being. They endeavour to excuse themselves, but God, resuming all his severity, curses the serpent; condemns the woman to be subject to her husband, and to bring forth children in sorrow; and the man to till laboriously the earth, and procure from it his sustenance by painful exertion. "In the sweat of thy face," said he, "shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground, out of which thou wast taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." After this sentence, he drove them out of the garden of Eden, and placed at the entrance, a cherubim, and a flaming sword, which turned every way to prevent the return of the unhappy pair.

A tree, the fruits of which, when eaten, convey the knowledge of good and evil; another tree which bestows immortality; a serpent with the faculty of human speech; a God who converses with his creatures!—all this has been considered by some commentators as merely an oriental allegory. The serpent, say they, if he entered into conversation with Eve, without terrifying her, could not have been of his present hideous form. He was, doubtless, the devil in the shape of a handsome youth. The fruits

which bestow the knowledge of good and evil were pleasures which the young couple were forbidden for a time to taste; and remorse for their transgression, of which they believed God to have been a witness, caused the confusion which they endeavoured to conceal.

It is not astonishing, add the same commentators, that God who had just created them, and was accustomed to manifest himself to them, should still preserve a familiarity with them, which, to us, at this distance of time, must appear very extraordinary. Must not the tree which dispensed immortality have signified the means of perpetuating ourselves, by which we are, in some manner, rendered immortal? But possibly, say others, God might have created a tree whose savoury and substantial fruits possessed the quality of preserving in men always the same strength of body, and preventing maladies and every painful sensation, till it should please the divine Being to translate them to a still more happy abode.

Such are the conjectural attempts that have been made to explain these wonderful facts, of which the result alone is necessary to be known: that is, that the first man sinned, and that he was punished not only in his own person, but that his whole posterity was involved in the chastisement of his crime. This, according to Moses, is the source of the evils that afflict the

human race. As to Adam and Eve, it is admitted that if, after they were driven out of Paradise, they immediately became subject to all our desires and wants, without having the same or equivalent means to gratify them, they must have been the most miserable creatures that ever existed.

Chronology
before the
Deluge.

Some chronologists represent them to have lived eight hundred, and others near a thousand years. There is the same difference in the ages assigned to their descendants, the antediluvian patriarchs; so that, according to some accounts, the space of time which elapsed from the creation to the deluge was 1307 years, and, according to others, 2262 years.

Tradition.

We can only be acquainted with what passed in this interval from traditions, which, handed down from patriarch to patriarch, were transmitted to Noah, who survived the deluge; and in like manner transmitted the memory of events to his descendants. From them Abraham received them, and delivered them down through his line to Moses, who preserved them to us in writing, though in but a very small number, considering the duration of this epocha.

Death of
Abel.

His history, in its first pages, records an event which must have been as distressing to our first parents as it is possible to conceive. Adam and Eve, among many other children who are mentioned, had two who have become celebrated;

Cain, who was of a gloomy disposition, envious and wicked, and Abel, who was mild and naturally virtuous. The former addicted himself to agriculture; the latter, to the keeping of sheep. A preference shewn by the parents to the amiable qualities of Abel irritated Cain, and in a fit of jealousy he killed his brother and buried him.

The Jewish historian here introduces God directly questioning Cain.—“Where is Abel thy brother?” To which he churlishly replies, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” “As a punishment of thy crime,” rejoins the Almighty, “a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.” The idea of perpetually wandering, exposed to the resentment of the descendants of his other brothers, terrified the guilty wretch. “Whosoever findeth me,” said he, “shall slay me.” “Behold,” said God, “I have set a mark upon thee, that he that meeteth thee shall not slay thee.”

Punishment
of Cain.

This mark, which was to arrest the arm of his enemy, has given birth to a thousand conjectures among the commentators. Was it impressed on his person, or exterior to him? If exterior to him, it might probably be an earthquake which perpetually attended him, and prevented any person from approaching him; or the dog of Abel, who continually accompanied him, and defended him from every one who at-

tempted to attack him. If impressed on his person, it was possibly the initial letters of the name of Abel, or of the sabbath; or the name God, imprinted on his forehead: it might be the figure of a cross; a horn; the leprosy; a haggard and wild look; red and bloody eyes; a trembling of all his limbs; or, which appears more probable, an air of dismay and agitation, the consequence of his remorse, the sign best adapted to suspend the stroke of vengeance, by exciting compassion for a man so wretched.

Origin of
the Arts.

Thus have commentators amplified by their reveries the simple, natural, and affecting narrative of Moses. That historian has informed us, in a few words, what was the origin of various customs and arts, and recorded the names of their inventors. Lamech, the son of Cain, gave the first example of polygamy. Cain himself built the first city, and introduced weights and measures. One of his grandsons "was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle." Jubal invented music; Tubal-Cain the arts of forging iron, and casting brass; and a female, named Naamah, those of spinning and weaving. Idolatry preceded the deluge. It no doubt began long after the beginning of time, when the knowledge of the unity of God was still fresh in the minds of men. Possibly it had its origin in reverence and gratitude to the benefactors of the human race, the exterminators of

monsters, or the inventors of arts. Such sentiments easily lead to adoration. The contemplation of the heavenly bodies, and the admiration they inspire, might likewise, perhaps, induce men to make them the objects of divine honours. Their revolutions and courses were observed before the deluge; and their periods were engraven on two pillars, the one of stone that it might withstand the water, and the other of brick that it might resist the fire; since these two elements, according to a traditional prediction of Adam, were successively to destroy the human race. Of these two pillars, Josephus tells us, one, that of stone, was still standing in his time, and that he had himself seen it.

The scripture assigns no children to Abel, but The deluge. ascribes a numerous posterity to Seth, whose birth consoled Eve for the death of Abel. The descendants of Seth long lived distinguished for wisdom and piety, and separated from the posterity of Cain; with which, however, at length, they contracted alliances, and adopted many of the vices of the Cainites, without communicating to them their virtues. God found that they were immersed in the same guilt and abominations, and determined to destroy the whole of the perverse race of mankind.

One man alone, named Noah, a descendant from Seth, had escaped the general corruption, and merited to be exempted from the proscrip-

tion, with his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and their wives. God ordered him to build an ark, or vessel, capable of containing a pair of every kind of animals, and to shut them in with him. When they had entered into the ark, God, according to the expressions of the scripture, opened the windows of heaven, and called forth the waters from the great deep, which covered the earth several cubits above the summits of the highest mountains. The flood continued five months, during which all mankind perished but those who were in the ark. When the waters were abated from off the earth, Noah came out of the ark.

Piety of
Noah.

The naked and desolate appearance of the earth, lately so delightful; the fearful traces of torrents; the solitude and mournful silence which prevailed, could not but inspire Noah and his family with the most melancholy reflections; they implicitly reposed their trust in Providence, the surest refuge of the unhappy, and raised an altar on Mount Ararat, where the ark had rested, in testimony of their resignation, and on which they offered burnt-offerings.

God, satisfied with this act of piety, changed, in their behalf, the curse pronounced upon Adam into a blessing. "Be fruitful," said he, "and multiply, and replenish the earth; the fear of you shall be upon all animals, for into

“ your hands are they delivered to be meat for
 “ you.—Whofo sheddeth man’s blood, by man
 “ shall his blood be shed.—I make a covenant
 “ with you for ever; there shall not again be a
 “ flood, and in token of this covenant I set my
 “ bow in the clouds.” This bow was the rain-
 bow, the natural effect of the refrangibility of
 the rays of the sun in an opposite cloud, a phe-
 nomenon which God then pointed out to men
 terrified by the vast eruption of the waters to
 signify to them that there should never again be
 a flood.

Noah cultivated the earth and planted the His intoxi-
cation.
 vine, of the powerful juice of the fruit of which
 he first experienced the too-frequently danger-
 ous effects. Intoxication exhibited him to his
 children in an indecent situation. Ham, the
 father of Canaan, made him the subject of his
 derision; but Shem and Japhet treated their fa-
 ther with reverence, and covered him with a
 garment. The old man, when restored to his
 reason, having learned what had passed, said
 with a prophetic anger, “ The Lord shall bless
 “ Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant: God
 “ shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in
 “ the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his
 “ servant.”

Noah died three hundred and fifty years after His death.
 the deluge, near Mount Ararat, where, it is
 said, he was buried. Others make him leave

his three sons, who were born before the flood, and journey with their younger offspring to China, the inhabitants of which country believe themselves to be the most ancient of nations.

His de-
scendants.

Endeavours have been made to follow the progress of the three sons of Noah and their establishments. The criticism by which these enquiries have been guided, is neither certain nor clear, and from an immense chaos of erudition, we can only select a few very brief facts.

The true religion, that is to say, the worship of one God, was long preserved in the race of Shem. Ham is accused of having laid the foundation of idolatry, of having invented magic, and of being debauched, incestuous, and cruel. The most distinguished among his descendants was Nimrod, who built some great cities: he is believed to have been the first king, and is stiled *a mighty hunter before the Lord*; an occupation which then bestowed honour and celebrity, and was entitled to the gratitude of mankind, since it freed the earth from noxious animals.

It was in the branch of Shem that the patriarchal line was continued. The *Hebrews* derived their name from his son *Heber*; and in the time of his children temples were begun to be built, and divine honours rendered to the chiefs of nations. Terah, the father of Abraham, was a carver of statues. This is nearly the whole

that can be collected from the Hebrew history during the space of a thousand and seventy-eight years, from the deluge to the call of Abraham. It resembles a great book with writing only in a few of its pages.

The enterprize of the tower of Babel may be said to be its principal chapter, both with respect to the fact itself, and its consequences, which were the separation of nations and their dispersion over the whole earth. This event is related in the following manner: about four hundred years after the deluge, and forty or fifty years after the death of Noah, the children of that patriarch becoming very numerous at the foot of Mount Ararat, and in the plain of Shinaar, extending along the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, began to perceive that this country could not contain them, and that they must soon separate. They resolved, therefore, first to build a tower which should serve them as a signal of union, if ever they should wish again to collect together. To this motive, the object of which is not blameable, they added a sentiment of pride highly reprehensible, "Let us," said they, "build a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven." As if, like the Titans, they had determined to attack God on his very throne.

They began their work with ardour. Three years were employed in preparations, which

consisted principally in making bricks baked in the sun, and gathering great quantities of reeds, which when mixed with bitumen procured from the neighbouring lakes, are still used in that country for cement. The edifice consisted of eight square towers, one above the other, gradually decreasing in diameter upwards, with a winding staircase on the outside for the more easy conveyance of the materials.

*Confusion
of tongues.*

When they had reached the height, according to some accounts, of one league, or according to others of two, the workmen suddenly perceived that they no longer understood each other, but that every one spoke a language different from that of his companion. This was the effect of a miracle by which God punished their proud attempt. It was impossible to continue the building of the tower, the remains of which some travellers have believed they could discover. Each associated with those whose language he could understand, and by whom he was understood; and thus were formed those societies or nations which gradually overspread the surface of the earth.

FIRST AGES AFTER THE DELUGE.

*Origin of
languages.*

From the account of the confusion of tongues as related by Moses, we deduce at least this consequence, that languages derive their origin from God. We know how difficult it is to

learn them, and it must, no doubt, be much more so to form them. Experience teaches us, that some syllables cannot be pronounced except by those who have been accustomed to them from their infancy. The first languages must have been very simple, since they must necessarily have been confined to the limits of human knowledge, then, certainly, not extensive. Arts, sciences, and a thousand other causes have enriched language. If there were but one original language among mankind, it must have required ages to bring it to perfection; "Three causes," says Scaliger, "have contributed first to form, and afterwards to perfect language: necessity, use, and the desire of pleasing. Necessity produced a number of words very imperfectly connected; use, by multiplying them, gave them more expression; and the desire of pleasing, afterwards produced that variety of phrase, and happy assemblage of words, which give elegance and grace to speech."

The art of writing must have been posterior Writing. to language. We are not disinclined to believe that it must have been practised before the deluge; since there were then great empires, and by consequence a government and police, which can scarcely be supported without conventional signs, by which the will of the chief may be conveyed to a distance with safety and secrecy; and these signs, whatever

they may have been, are, in their principle, writing.

The most ancient appears to have been hieroglyphical, by which objects are delineated, and which must have been easy to invent. That which we employ, and which delineates words, is the most admirable effort of the human mind; but it may have been invented, and brought to perfection by time, reflexion, and practice. It is not necessary to ascribe its origin, as some authors have done, to miracles.

Dispersion
of mankind.

The dispersion of mankind may be accounted for in the same manner. It is very natural that a number of persons crowded in one place, seeing at some distance a country where they might live more at their ease, should remove to that country, and so progressively. The scripture points out in this progression an order which may induce us to believe it did not depend on chance. Some calculators have computed the number of men who existed at the time of this dispersion, and have concluded, that according to the proportion of the life of men at that time, there must have been more than two hundred and forty thousand. Noah had no doubt instructed them in the arts that were in use before the deluge; for some there were, though they should have been only those of working iron and all other metals, and cutting and fashioning wood, without which arts

the ark could not have been built. In this case the children of Noah had not the trouble of inventing; the difficulty of which, without the interference of chance, is greater than that of bringing to perfection.

Trade must likewise have been easily established. Some have superfluous commodities which their neighbours want, who have likewise superfluities of another kind. A mutual exchange takes place; and when these wants are supplied on both sides, the commodities which remain are carried to more distant countries. Journies are performed by land and sea, and instead of commodities difficult of carriage, or of doubtful sale, metals are received, the fineness of which is warranted, by their being stamped with the effigies of the prince, or some other sign characteristic of the guarantee of the state. Hence the origin of money. Perhaps he to whom merchandize is confided has not these metals; but he promises to procure and deliver them at a certain time. Hence originate notes, bills of exchange, and other obligations, which have greatly extended commerce, but have at the same time deprived it of much of its frankness and security. In fine, the conformity of characters and manners, the identity of religion, the scourges even of war and famine, inundations, the ascendancy which one man by courage or strength has gained over

others, have concurred to the formation of empires, of which we now proceed to give the history.

THE EGYPTIANS.

Egypt.

Though the Egyptians were not, perhaps, the most ancient nation, a custom has prevailed of placing them first in history, no doubt, because of them we have the most ancient and circumstantial accounts remaining. Their country, the abode at once of real knowledge and the most absurd superstition, is two hundred leagues long, and thirty broad. Through the middle of it lengthwise flows the Nile, by which it is watered and fructified; and it is divided into upper, middle, and lower Egypt.

Description.

The first part, or that nearest the cataracts, was formerly embellished with a great number of superb cities, majestic temples, palaces, tombs, obelisks, and especially that famous city Thebes, celebrated for its astonishing population, its riches, and its edifices. From each of its hundred gates, it is said, it could send out two hundred chariots, and ten thousand men. The ruins still remaining of this great city, render what we are told of it almost credible. Memphis in the middle Egypt, without equaling Thebes, still exhibits to the eyes of travellers magnificent remains. Near it are the gigantic monuments, called the pyramids, and

the traces of the lake Moëris, dug by the hands of man, and of an amazing extent. It is believed that the lower part of Egypt, named Delta, on account of its resemblance in figure to the Greek letter of that name, is a creation of the Nile, which by depositing its mud has formed this accumulation of land. This part of the country, if it is deficient in works of art, is richly adorned with the gifts of nature, and endowed with a perpetual fertility. It is to be remarked, that this fertility of the Delta does not depend on the overflowing of the Nile, but is the consequence of the goodness of the soil, and that it never fails, even when the failure of the inundation causes famine in the other parts of Egypt.

The Nile rises in Ethiopia, and swelled by the rains which fall in the months of April and May, enters Egypt, precipitating down seven cataracts, the appearance and roaring of which make the curious traveller shudder as he approaches them; but the inhabitants of the river, familiarized with the danger, have at all times exhibited, and still continue to exhibit to travellers, a spectacle of intrepidity, truly astonishing. They are seen suspended on the top of the wave to precipitate themselves down the rocks, guide their crazy boats amid the foaming gulphs, immersed in a perpetual mist, and when they seem to be swallowed up they re-

The Nile
cataracts.

appear at a distance, safely floating on the river, become calm as a canal. The waters of the Nile spread slowly over the lands, which they gradually cover, and are conducted to the more distant parts, by various means which necessity and practice have taught the Egyptians. They remain four months almost stagnant, and that they may not flow off too rapidly before they have deposited their fructifying mud, a sea-wind blows during those four months, by which they are detained.

Appearance
of Egypt.

Should a person during the time of the inundation, take his station on any elevated place, such as the pyramids, he would discover a vast sea, above which arise a number of villages, resembling so many little islands connected by causeways; for the convenience of the inhabitants, interspersed with groves and copses, of which the tops only can be perceived. But in the same places where boats of every kind were seen sailing in all directions in the beginning of October, when the inundation has subsided, and the ground is dry, that is, in December and January, cattle are seen feeding and sporting in an immense meadow, enamelled with flowers, divided by odoriferous hedges, and planted with trees, some of which promise, and others already afford, the most delicious fruits.

The industry of the cultivator gives still greater animation to the scene. The labour

of the husbandman is easy: he has only to rake the earth when it is drying, and mix with it a little sand, and it will produce the most abundant harvests. Prejudice has extended even to women, and the females of animals, the fecundating property of the Nile. It is true, they multiply prodigiously in Egypt, and that the Egyptian women may become mothers at nine and ten years of age; but they are doubtless indebted for this advantage, if it be one, less to the water of the Nile which they drink, than to the salubrity of the air, and the mildness of the climate, which, though under a burning sun, is tempered by the coolness of the waters, and a wind constantly blowing from the north-east.

The Nile requires nearly thirty feet of elevation, to bestow plenty. If it rise higher, or does not reach that height, sterility and famine are the consequence. Motives so interesting have attracted an anxious attention to the increase of this river. A thousand means have been resorted to, to secure and regulate the inundation, in which superstition has had its share. Formerly a young virgin was thrown into the water at the moment it began to rise, in order to render the river propitious. At present only an image is thrown in. The increase of the Nile is, however, in Egypt, still

the news of the day, and according to its degree occasions mourning, or rejoicing.

Animals.

The animals peculiar to Egypt are the hippopotamus, or river-horse, an untameable, fierce, and very irritable animal: the crocodile, an amphibious and voracious monster, of the lizard-kind, but sometimes thirty feet or more in length: the ichneumon, a kind of rat, which clears the land from reptiles, and other insects engendered in the mud, after the inundation. It is also a very formidable enemy to the crocodile, the eggs of which it breaks wherever it finds them; and it is said, that when the monster is sleeping, it will get down his throat, and gnaw his entrails. The domestic animals, oxen, goats, and sheep, thrive there prodigiously, and the flesh of the latter is of an exquisite flavour. We likewise find there camels, apes, camels, and gazelles.

Among the birds which wing their way beneath this beauteous sky, the eagle and falcon are distinguished. The court-yards are stocked with pintadas, and every kind of domestic fowl. From the banks of the river, and the lakes which it forms, the pelican, the heron, large flocks of wild ducks, and other aquatic birds take their flight. Fish are likewise very abundant, and furnish the principal food of the common people. The ostrich runs over the sandy

plains which surround Egypt; and the ibis, a bird formerly worshipped and still greatly esteemed, takes his station at the entrance of the desert, as on a frontier entrusted to him to guard, and devours the serpents which Lybia sends.

Trees, excepting fruit-trees, are rare: of the Plants. latter, the date is the most common, and of the others the palm, some cedars, and a thorny tree, supposed to be the acacia, useful for building boats. Nature has indemnified Egypt for the want of wood in its plants. It produces flax, which has always been in much esteem; and the papyrus, which supplied the Egyptians with paper, garments, utensils, and medicines; and of which they even ate the pith. They made similar use of the lotus, or lily of the lakes. Here are likewise odoriferous plants, from which the women procure perfumes; and whoever has tasted the fruits, vegetables, and esculent roots of Egypt, will not wonder that the Jews should have regretted being deprived of them.

The objects most attractive of curiosity in Pyramids. Egypt are the pyramids, which have been justly placed among the wonders of the world. The three principal ones have existed more than three thousand years, near the spot where Memphis formerly stood, and where Grand Cairo at present stands. The word pyramid, the name

of the architects, the time when they were built, and the manner in which they were erected, have all been the subjects of learned dissertations, from which we derive no information. We know as little of the purpose for which they were built; there is, indeed, reason to conjecture they were intended for places of sepulture. They were, therefore, tombs raised at an immense expence; and this object is not unsuitable to the ideas of the Egyptians, who attached so great an importance to the conservation of the bodies of their relatives, that carcases, called mummies, are still found entire under their aromatic bandages, which have certainly existed several hundreds of ages.

The largest and finest pyramid is situated advantageously on a rock, a hundred feet high, in the middle of a level plain. It is a perfect square, each side of which, regarding one of the four cardinal points, and precisely adjusted to the meridian, is nearly seven hundred feet in length at the base. The height of the pyramid is nearly five hundred feet, and its dimensions continually contract upwards, till it terminates in a flat surface, about sixteen feet square, and composed of nine pieces. It may be ascended, though with considerable difficulty, by layers of stone which form steps, by retiring three feet each layer. On entering it by a passage in the middle, we find galleries and staircases, the

walls of which are of a brilliant stone, beautifully polished, and in the largest chamber, coated with beautiful marble, there is still a tomb of porphyry, to which the light cannot penetrate by any opening. Believe, if you think it credible, that three hundred and sixty thousand men were employed more than twenty years in erecting them, and that more than ten millions of livres (nearly half a million sterling), were expended in garlick and radishes, for the use of the workmen.

The labyrinth, which is still more wonderful, The labyrinth. was built near the lake Mœris. Its exterior was superbly decorated; and it contained three thousand rooms, vestibules, cabinets, and chambers, one of which is fifty feet in height. Of these, fifteen hundred were on a level with the ground, and fifteen hundred under ground. In the latter were preserved, according to Herodotus, who had seen the labyrinth, the embalmed bodies of the kings who built the structure, and those of the sacred crocodiles.

Near the cataracts are seen the ruins of an Palace of the cataracts. edifice, which appears to have been a palace. Its site is scattered over with columns, broken statues, and fragments of beautiful marble, very delicately sculptured. The entrance to it was by avenues of columns, of which travellers assure us there still exist six thousand, either standing, or fallen down. They are seventy feet

high, three resting on each base, and have on their capitals enormous figures of sphinxes and lions. These works are prodigious, but are not to be compared with the temple at Dendera, in the same part of Upper Egypt, the columns of which can scarcely be encompassed by eight men with their arms extended, and of which the dimensions were such, that the Arabs had built a town on its top, the ruins of which are still to be seen. Though it had only been an encampment of tents, after the manner of the Arabs, it would still have been extraordinary on the top of a building.

We proceed from wonder to wonder, while we follow travellers in the grottoes of Osyut, still remaining in Upper Egypt. There are above a thousand of them hollowed in a very hard rock, and adorned with pilasters, and columns cut in the same stone. Some of them which have been entered, and which are not the largest, are capable of containing six hundred horsemen, drawn up in a line. These grottoes were probably the quarries from which were procured the obelisks, two hundred feet high, formed of a single block, which we still survey with astonishment. We find some cut in the rough in these grottoes, which prove the ability of the Egyptians to render pleasing the places apparently least capable of embellishment.

The lake
Morris.

If the utility of these enormous excavations

is not known, that of the lake Mœris admits of no doubt. Mœris, king of Egypt, who caused it to be dug, called it by his own name. In those years, when the inundation of the Nile exceeded its requisite limits, it received the superfluous waters, which it returned in years of failure. Notwithstanding the accumulations of earth and mud, which must have contracted its dimensions, it is still twelve or fifteen leagues in circuit. In the middle is a kind of mount, which appears to have been formed by the remains of two statues of the king and the queen his wife, thirty-six feet high, and by the ruins of a palace. The expence of keeping this lake in repair was immense, but, at the same time, the fishery of it was extremely lucrative. The canals for the admission and letting out of the water, the mounds necessary to confine it, the gates and sluices, of which the traces still remain, all prove that the Egyptians were as well skilled in hydraulic as in colossal architecture. What an astonishing revolution has taken place, as we shall hereafter see, in the understanding and talents of these people, as well as in their civil state and manners!

The extravagance and absurdity of mankind Antiquity. with respect to their antiquity and origin, is sometimes very extraordinary. The Egyptians would rather be supposed to have been born of

the mud of their river, like the half-formed animals it is said to have produced, than acknowledge themselves to be descended from ancestors of another country. The name of Misraim, by which their country is called in scripture, seems, however, to render it probable that they descended from the son of Ham, the second son of Noah.

Govern-
ment.

Their government was always monarchical, but it appears that from the earliest times they took wise precautions to prevent the power of one alone from being hurtful to all. The education of a king was not entrusted to his parents. The prince who was to reign, from his birth was confided to the priests, who were grave personages well instructed in religion and the laws. He was attended only by young men of approved manners: no slave, nor any persons of suspicious character, might approach him. By religious exercises, by example, and by the daily recital of the consequences of noble or base actions, the idea was inculcated in him of a God rewarding virtue, and punishing vice. His employments were appointed for every hour of the day; the form of his habits prescribed; the times for the repetition of his exercises fixed; and the dishes of his table regulated, both with respect to quality and quantity. Far from finding themselves disagreeably restrained by the severity of these regulations,

many of the kings of Egypt acknowledged that they owed to them their vigour and health of body. The monarch, while he lived, was revered as a god ; but, at his death, submitted to the lot of other mortals. The whole people sat in judgment over him, at the entrance of his sepulchre ; and, after a scrupulous examination, if his good actions did not out-weigh his bad ones, he was disgracefully deprived of the rites of sepulture.

The kingdom was divided into provinces, Division of families, classes, and property. each of which had its governor, and the lands distributed between the king, the priests, and the soldiers, who formed the three principal orders. There were three other inferior orders, the shepherds, the labourers, and the artizans. The portion allotted to the king was appropriated to the maintenance of the court, which was required to be magnificent ; to the expences of war, and rewards by way of encouragement. The estates of the priests were applied to defray the expences of public worship, the national education, and the support of their families ; those of the soldiers, were in lieu of pay.

The priests attracted veneration by their knowledge and their virtues. They wore a habit of distinction, had a seat in the council of state ; and when it happened that the Egyptians elected a king, if he was not of the class of priests, he was initiated into the order before he was

enthroned. The priesthood was no doubt hereditary, since the Egyptians were obliged to follow the profession of their fathers even if they were foldiers. The latter, like the priests, let out their lands to cultivators, and received a rent. The skill of the Egyptian husbandmen has always been celebrated both in tillage, and the management and breeding of cattle. They still practise their ancient method of hatching eggs in ovens, and thus multiplying their poultry extremely. We are acquainted with this method, have made trial of it with some success, and yet afterwards have laid it aside.

LAWS.

Their first care in the choice of judges was, that they should be of irreproachable morals. The members of the first tribunal of the nation, in number thirty, were taken from the principal cities, because it was supposed they would possess more knowledge and information. They chose themselves a president, who, as a mark of his dignity, wore suspended from his neck the image of Truth ornamented with diamonds. They were paid by the king. Causes were pleaded by the parties in person. The plaintiff presented his complaint in writing, a copy of which was given to the defendant, who returned his answer. The plaintiff replied, and the defendant, if necessary, rejoined; after which the judge, without speaking a word, turned the image of Truth towards the

party in whose favour he decided. No advocates were permitted; their eloquence, subtlety, and habit of disguising the truth, rendered them suspected. In general, the Egyptians chose rather to judge by written than parole evidence, because the difference in facility of expression might give to one of the parties a superiority hurtful to justice.

Their laws have been acknowledged to be so wise, that even distant nations came to learn and adopt them; and the *wisdom of the Egyptians* became proverbial. Some of them which relate to perjury, murder, slavery, commerce, adultery, marriage, and other subjects, still remain. They shew the wisdom of the legislature; as may be seen in the following:—"Parents
" who have killed their children shall not be
" put to death; but they shall hold their dead
" bodies embraced during three days and three
" nights." And to prevent their evading the law, guards were placed over them. According to another custom, which was equivalent to a law, robbers and thieves formed a society which had a chief. They were obliged to inscribe their names in a register, and take an oath to give in their booty to the chief; to whom those who had been robbed might apply, in which case he restored to them what they had lost, reserving only a fourth part of the value. Similar associations, authorized in all the

great cities, contributed, perhaps, as much to good order, even as the penal laws.

Religion.

The Egyptians worshipped a number of divinities, the principal of which were the sun and moon, under the names of Isis and Osiris. They likewise assigned gods to preside over all the elements. Vulcan over fire; Ceres over the earth; Ocean over the sea, and Minerva over the air: Jupiter, the spirit and vivifying power, they placed in heaven; the stars and planets, they supposed to be animated by other subaltern gods, or by the souls of heroes. A proof that they believed in one supreme God, the creator and preserver of the world, may be derived from the following inscription in one of their temples. "I am all that has been, is, and shall be; and no mortal has yet lifted up the veil which covers me." To the same purport is this other inscription, which is still remaining:—"To thee, the goddess Isis, who being one, art all things."

The emblematic imagery which they employed to signify the influence and power which they attributed to their gods, rendered their representations of them highly extravagant. An eye at the end of a sceptre, typified the providence of Osiris, and a hawk his penetrating sight. These emblems were added to the figure of a young man, with the parts of the generative faculty especially conspicuous. Isis was

entirely covered with breasts, to signify that she nourished all things. Horns were placed on her head, a sistrum and pitcher in her hand, with other symbols, which indicated the phases of the moon, the inundation of the Nile, and the festivals instituted on that occasion. Serapis, the god of plenty, carried a bushel on his head; Jupiter Ammon had the head of a ram; Anubis, that of a dog; other gods, the heads, feet, hands, and bodies of animals with human faces; whence it happened that the common people, forgetting the meaning of these symbols, fixed their attention on the thing employed as an emblem; and, at length, worshipped the figures of the animals, which had only been added to signify the qualities for which the hero, or divinity, was worshipped.

From worshipping the emblematic figures of animals, it was not a very wide step to the worship of the animals themselves; and this step the Egyptians soon made. The attention, care, and precaution, with which they chose and fed the ox Apis, are well known. There was not a single town which had not its peculiar deified animal; a cat, dog, wolf, hog, crocodile, serpent, bird, or fish; for which large buildings, aviaries, or ponds, were provided, according to their several natures, and priests appointed to attend them. But what is most singular is, that the animal which was adored

in one town, was sacrificed in another ; whence arose mortal enmities among the inhabitants of the same country. It is said, that these enmities were excited and encouraged by the policy of one of their kings, who perceiving that his subjects were naturally inclined to sedition, ordered that each town and province should worship a particular animal, and follow a different regimen. In consequence of this law, the Egyptians being divided into distinct societies, prejudiced against each other on account of the difference of religion, and mutually ridiculing and despising their neighbours, because of the diversity of their customs, could not without great difficulty be brought to unite so as to cause any serious disturbance in the state. The worship of animals may likewise be derived from their standards, on which they delineated those that were most useful to them : as the ibis and the hawk, which devoured serpents; the ichneumon, which prevented the multiplication of crocodiles; and the cat, which destroyed rats, the noxious vermin of Egypt. But as to the worship of onions, leeks, beans, and other vegetables, it can only have originated in a ridiculous madness, which must have been confined to the most ignorant of the common people, if ever this superstition did prevail, and the charge be not an exaggeration of historians, still more to heighten the contempt with which

the religious fanaticism of the Egyptians was treated by other nations, and especially by the Greeks, their neighbours.

It is certain that nothing could exceed the seriousness, solemnity, and scrupulous exactness with which they performed their religious ceremonies. They offered sacrifices, and, dreadful superstition! even human sacrifices. Their service was pompous, and their festivals lively and splendid. Like other nations, they had their oracles. Their temples and idols shone with the most sumptuous ornaments, and were enriched by daily offerings. On viewing this magnificence, it must have been difficult to believe that the object of it could have been a brute, or a vegetable. But the human mind appears to be capable of the most opposite extremes; and, among the Egyptians, we find the wisest civil institutions in conjunction with ridiculous superstitions, bordering on frenzy. These they long preserved, and a new custom was among them a prodigy.

Their education was carefully attended to and confided to their priests, who taught them religion, geometry, arithmetic, and reading and writing, especially to the youth who were designed for trade. They were early accustomed to sobriety, by not being permitted to eat of viands prepared by too refined a cookery. The Egyptians wore but few clothes, and walked bare-

Religious
worship.

Manners
and
customs.

footed. They were taught from their youth to reverence old age. They were neither suffered to practise music or wrestling; because the former, they held, enervated the mind, and the latter might prove injurious to the body, by too violent exertions. It is not probable, however, that they prohibited singing, a pleasure admitted among all nations, and in every age; but they, in an extraordinary manner, moderated their joys. At their great feasts they placed before their guests a coffin, or sometimes a corpse, with this inscription:—"Behold this dead body: thou shalt become like unto it."

Circumcision was in use among the Egyptians. They made cleanliness an obligation, and gratitude, their favourite virtue, a point of honour. It is observed, that, in some districts, the women carried on trade, and were employed in the business without doors, while the men spun, and managed the household affairs. We still find among them several habits peculiar to one sex, transferred to the other.

Mourning,
sepulchres,
embalming.

They were, perhaps, the first who taught the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, in the metempsychosis. It passes, said they, from one body into another, and even into the bodies of animals, but these transmigrations do not commence until after the corruption of the carcase; on which account they were so attentive to its preservation. They spared neither labour nor ex-

pence in the construction of their sepulchres, which they named *eternal abodes*; while they only called the most sumptuous palaces *inns*.

Their funeral ceremonies began by the mourning of the women, which consisted in loud lamentations and frantic cries. The embalmer was then sent for; who, according to the price allowed him, employed spices of greater or less value, and performed his work with more or less exactness. To such perfection was the art of embalming carried in Egypt, that the body was not in the least disfigured. The hair even of the eyebrows and eyelids, suffered no alteration, and the features were so perfectly preserved, that the person might be recognized. The coffin was covered with hieroglyphics, which, perhaps, served as an epitaph.

The relatives of the deceased then caused notice to be given by a public cryer, that on such a day, such a person was to be conveyed to his sepulchre, and invited to the ceremony his friends, and the judges appointed to examine the actions of the defunct. His whole life was then passed in review, without noticing his birth, for the Egyptians considered all men as equals. Those who on this trial were adjudged to have been virtuous, were inclosed in the tomb with eulogies, hymns, thanksgivings, and prayers to the gods, that they might be admitted into the abodes of happiness. When

Trial of the dead.

the deceased had committed any crime, or left debts, he was not buried. His body was left in some particular place in the house; and it has happened, that his descendants, having become rich, have satisfied the creditors, and thus procured for their ancestor the rites of sepulture.

Sciences
and arts.

If we should attend only to the names of the arts practised, and the sciences cultivated by the Egyptians, we might suppose that they possessed all the knowledge of the moderns. But on more mature consideration, we shall perceive that of some of these sciences they knew only the names and the elements, and that they were far from possessing them in their present perfection. They are, nevertheless, highly deserving our estimation for the light they displayed, while other nations were plunged in the most profound darkness.

Let us give them praise, therefore, for their geometry, that is, for having acquired certain principles by which they could fix the boundaries of the grounds abandoned by the river; though they were not able to measure inaccessible distances. Their arithmetic was an economical, or, at most, a mercantile calculation. Placed under a serene sky, and on a level soil, enjoying an extensive horizon, they studied the course of the stars, and fixed the return of the months and years; which is certainly making

some progress, but very little when compared with the learned theories deduced and demonstrated by our modern astronomy. Credulous and superstitious, they were addicted to judicial astrology, that is to say, the opinion of the influence of the stars on the destinies of men; and to magic, or the science of deceiving by illusions. If we judge of their skill in painting, by the figures we find on the coffins of their mummies, the only monuments of this kind that remain, they must have made but little progress in that art. Their designs are rude and awkward. It does not appear that they were more able in sculpture. Their works of this kind are either figures swathed up to the shoulders, or which, diminishing from the waist downwards, end in a sheath. It is said that there were workmen who made only legs, others for feet, others for arms and hands, and others for heads, and so of the rest. Can it be supposed that all these parts, made in different work-shops, could have been fitted together with sufficient accuracy to be graceful, and form, as some authors have pretended, perfect statues?

The limits prescribed to medicine, must likewise have prevented the progress of that science. No physician was permitted to extend his practice to more than one species of disease; and if he even treated this disease in a different manner from that prescribed by the dispensary, and

the patient died, he was punished with death. Two very injurious inconveniences resulted from this law; the first, that the physician being confined to the cure of one single malady, endeavoured to ascribe every ailment to that disease, and by that was exposed to apply remedies directly the reverse to those the disorder really required; the second, that not being allowed to vary his treatment but at the risk of his life, he could acquire no experience, and thus the science continually remained in its infancy. Physicians were paid out of the public treasury. The practice of embalming might have been the means of acquiring anatomical knowledge, but it does not appear that much advantage of that kind was derived from it.

Commerce.

Commerce flourished in Egypt from the earliest times. An inland trade was carried on between the cities and provinces, by means of the Nile, and foreign commerce by canals cut through the deserts, and communicating with the Red Sea, and, by the river, with the Mediterranean. Egypt thus maintained the communication of the two seas. It received by caravans the valuable merchandize of Arabia and India, which it transmitted with its corn to the southern parts of Europe, at that time but indifferently supplied with grain.

Military art.

The art of war was not unknown to the Egyptians. Surrounded by mountains and deserts,

and defended by these natural ramparts against hostile invasions, they might have lived in perpetual peace, but, like many other nations, they were infected with the rage of conquests, and very especially celebrated for an excellent cavalry.

The Egyptians, like almost all the orientals, ^{Language, and writing.} had two languages, the sacred and the profane. It is said, likewise, that the sacred was of two kinds, one of which was appropriated to the most secret mysteries, and known only to the chief-priests. The profane is preserved by the Copts, the remaining descendants of the ancient inhabitants. There were likewise two sorts of writing, the hieroglyphical, of which we find so many traces on the Egyptian monuments; and another, employed for the common purposes of life, which consisted of the images of words. It is supposed that their characters nearly resembled those of the Chinese. Both their language and manner of writing, however, are now lost. The Greeks have transmitted to us the accounts we have already given of the customs of the Egyptians, and to them likewise we are indebted for what we know of their history.

Jupiter and Juno, the children of Saturn, and ^{Fabulous ages.} of Rhea, that is to say, of Time, and of the Earth, produced Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Apollo, and Venus. Rhea, in consequence of an infi-

delity, committed, after many others, with Mercury, being pregnant, was condemned by her husband to be unable to bring forth in any month of the year; but her paramour had the dexterity to steal a number of hours from each month, of which he formed five days, appertaining to no particular month; and, during these days, the goddess, as if in revenge for the prohibition, was delivered of a multitude of gods and goddesses.

The eldest of this extraordinary progeny received the name of Osiris, and his education was entrusted to a virgin, who brought him up with much care and tenderness. Having ascended the throne of Egypt, he laboured to smoothe the savage manners of his subjects, built the first city, erected temples, and conceived the idea of extending the benefit of civilization over the whole earth.

No conqueror can, indeed, be compared to him, if he employed no other arms than those he is said to have used; eloquence, music, and poetry. He was accompanied in his expedition by nine virgins, all admirable musicians, whom he placed under the conduct of his brother, Apollo. He likewise took with him Maron, who first taught to plant and cultivate the vine; and Triptolemus, to whom we are indebted for the art of sowing and reaping. Besides these useful attendants, he had in his

train some satyrs, whose mirth, dances, and pleasantry, appeared to him more proper to gain the common people, than reason and argument.

While undertaking this expedition to promote the happiness of other nations, Osiris did not forget his own. He left Hercules to defend his subjects, appointing him general of the army. The government of the principal provinces he committed to Antæus, Busris, and Prometheus, and the general administration of the government to Isis, his queen, under the direction of Hermes, whose great abilities must be universally acknowledged, since he was the inventor of articulate sounds, appellations, letters, religion, astronomy, music, arithmetic, the lyre with three strings, and the use of olives.

Having taken these precautions, Osiris passed into Ethiopia, over-ran Arabia, India, a great part of Asia, and advanced to the frontiers of Europe, marking his way by the cities which he built, and the temples and other monuments which he erected, and by which he acquired less glory, than by the useful knowledge in which he instructed all these nations.

When he at length returned home, the conquering legislator did not find there that happiness he was entitled to expect. Typhon, his brother, with a design to seize on the kingdom, had formed a party, of which the king had no

suspicion. Osiris was received with every appearance of friendship, and invited to a banquet prepared by Typhon, which invitation he accepted. The guests were accomplices in the plot. During the entertainment, a magnificent chest was brought in, the workmanship and richness of which every one admired. "It shall be his," said Typhon, "whom it shall be found to fit exactly." Several of those present laid down in it; but it was either too long, or too short. Osiris, in his turn, entered it, when the cover was immediately shut down upon him, fastened with nails, and melted lead poured over it, and the chest thrown into the sea.

Isis, his disconsolate wife, wandered a long time in search of the chest, and at length, after much labour and anxiety, found it in the possession of the king of a neighbouring country. She immediately uttered so loud an exclamation, that the king's son died through fear. With a look, she killed another of his sons, who had the indiscretion to come suddenly upon her while she was hanging over the body of her deceased husband, and weeping. She likewise dried up a river with her breath, because it had not stopped the course of a wind, which was displeasing to her.

This terrible princess pursued Typhon, defeated, and killed him, and placed her children on different thrones; all by the secret counsels

of Osiris, who had returned mysteriously to the earth, and rendered her again a mother.

After these fabulous ages, the first king who makes his appearance in the times called heroic, but without any certain date, is Menes. He drained the lower part of Egypt, changing what was before a morass, into firm ground; turned the course of the Nile, so as to render it of more advantage to the country; taught religion; instituted solemn festivals; and was succeeded by fifty kings of the same race.

Heroic ages,
Kings,
Menes.

Egypt appears to have been enriched and embellished during this long succession; but it lost these advantages by the invasion of a people who came from the west, and invaded, and enslaved this beautiful kingdom. They are represented as a horde of savages, and their kings as tyrants, who pillaged, massacred, and destroyed, and appeared to place their glory in effacing the very name of the nations they conquered. These conquerors were called *hyksos*, or king-shepherds, probably because they applied themselves to pasturage. It is not known whether they reigned over Egypt a long time, but at length they were conquered in their turn; and at first confined to a corner of the country, but afterwards entirely driven out, destroyed, or confounded with the native inhabitants. Some commentators have supposed them to be the

King-
shepherds.

Israelites, but this opinion cannot be reconciled with chronology.

Ofyman-
dyas.

The Egyptians having conquered and driven out their invaders, were again governed by native kings. After a succession of several princes, of which one, Bufiris, founded Thebes, Ofymandyas succeeded to the throne. He was sufficiently powerful to raise, against the Ethiopians, an army of four hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. He valued himself greatly for the buildings he had erected. "Let him," said he, "who envies my greatness, equal me in any one of my works." This *king of kings*, for so he called himself, adorned Memphis with porticoes, temples, his own tomb, and other monuments. It is but justice to acknowledge, that in his edifices he knew how to unite elegance with majesty, differing in that respect from many of his predecessors, and successors, who cared but little for the beauty of a work provided it was of vast dimensions. He likewise built a library, and placed over the entrance this inscription: "The medicine of the soul."

Nitocris.

Several monarchs who succeeded him enlarged and embellished Thebes. Nitocris was the first woman who wore the crown in Egypt. She received it from the Egyptians who had deprived her brother of the regal power. But more vindictive than grateful, she began her reign by plunging into a dungeon the grandees

who had deposed her brother and raised her to the throne. She is described as beautiful, with fair hair, and an admirable complexion, but of a cruel disposition. She built one of the pyramids.

After her, twelve generations elapsed to Sesostris. Moeris, who dug the famous lake which bore his name. Some make him the immediate predecessor of the celebrated Sesostris. Others give the name of Amenophis to the father of that illustrious monarch. At the birth of his son, the father collected together all the male-children born the same day, that they might be brought up and educated with him, persuaded that those who had been his companions and equals in his childhood, would, when he should arrive at mature age, become his faithful ministers and affectionate soldiers.

This is the Sesostris whom the author of Telemachus has engaged us to admire and esteem, by ascribing to him in his old-age, repentance for his pride, his love of conquests, and all those brilliant frailties which seduce young monarchs. He attributes to him mildness, goodness of heart, a taste for the sciences and arts, and a great affection for his people—virtues which history does not deny him.

For a first expedition, his father sent him to clear Lybia from serpents and monsters, and to fight against the Arabs, whom he conquered, carrying his arms to the Atlantic ocean. This

success inspired him with a desire to extend his conquests still farther, and, even, were it possible, over the whole world. He began by securing the centre of his power. He endeavoured to gain the hearts of his subjects by acts of liberality and clemency, pardoning all who had been guilty of rebellion, and paying the debts of the insolvent. To this benevolence he added the most amiable affability, and provided for the safety of the country, by establishing in it thirty-six governors, under the regency of his brother.

Convinced that the strength of armies consists in union and honour, Sesostris instituted, both by land and sea, military orders, formed of the most select among his subjects. At the head of these brave men, sometimes in fleets which covered the Indian and Mediterranean seas, and sometimes with armies, which traversed the countries from the banks of the Ganges to Thrace, he subdued, conquered, triumphed, and erected in several places columns, which were still to be seen long after his time. They bore this inscription: "Sesostris, king of kings, and lord of lords, subjected this country by the power of his arms." There were found likewise, many ages after, in Colchis, a people of a dark complexion, and frizzled hair, who by their manners and customs, especially that of circumcision, were supposed to be Egyptians. A tradition asserted that these were the descend-

ants of the soldiers of Sesostris. Conquerors are like torrents, which frequently leave a part of their waters on the lands they ravage.

After an absence of nine years, which he had passed in extending his conquests, Sesostris returned to Egypt, dragging in his train a multitude of slaves. Armais, or, as others call him, Danaus, his brother, who had now been accustomed to command, attempted the life of the king, who escaped, as if by a miracle, from the flames prepared to destroy him. He contented himself with banishing the criminal, who retired to Greece. Sesostris employed the remainder of his days in fortifying and embellishing Egypt. He built a great wall cross the deserts, to prevent the incursions of the Syrians and Arabs; and levelled, as it were, his kingdom, by digging down those parts which were too high to receive the river, and raising those that were too much inundated. He intersected Egypt with a number of canals useful to commerce; but the kingdom which had before been formidable by its horses and chariots, by these canals lost that advantage. In fine, he erected in every considerable city, a magnificent temple, with this inscription: "No Egyptian has laboured in the building of this edifice." A proof of his great attention not to oppress his people. The labour was probably performed entirely

by slaves. We may judge of the manner in which he conducted himself towards captives of the common class, by that in which he treated their kings, whom, from time to time, he caused to be harnessed to, and draw his chariot. But one day observing that one of these unhappy princes frequently turned his head, and, with a melancholy and thoughtful countenance, fixed his eyes on the wheels, he enquired of him why he did so. "O king," replied the royal slave, "the revolution of the wheel reminds me of the vicissitudes of fortune: every part of it is by turns at the top, and at the bottom. Such is the lot of men; to-day they may be seated on a throne, and to-morrow reduced to the most ignominious slavery." This just reflection made such an impression on the monarch, that he discontinued this proud and insulting practice. In his old age he became blind, and killed himself, an action which was celebrated as a proof of the greatest courage.

Sesostris II.
or Pheron.

Sesostris II. like his father, became blind, not, however, from old-age, but as a punishment for sacrilege. The god of the Nile, who had taken this vengeance on him, for having, in a fit of rage, thrown a javelin into his waters, afterwards maliciously pointed out a remedy difficult to procure; which was, to wash his eyes with the urine of a woman who had never known any man but her husband. That of

his wife, with which he began, took no effect; and he had recourse, in like manner, without success, to that of many others. The cure was at length accomplished by the wife of a gardener, whom he made his queen; but all the rest, whom he considered as adulteresses, he caused to be burned alive.

To several other Egyptian kings, of whom Aethiopia the last was a tyrant, succeeded Aetifanes, an Ethiopian, whom the Egyptians had themselves called to the throne. He was a rigid enforcer of justice. His severity peopled Rhinocolura, the most remote city in the country between Syria and Egypt, in a sterile soil, and with no water but what was extremely salt and bitter. To this place he sent robbers, for whom he made the strictest researches, after having first stigmatized them with an indelible mark of ignominy, by cutting off their noses. Necessity, the mother of invention, taught them the art of making snares with reeds, with which they took quails that migrated into that country at certain seasons.

Mendes, his successor, who was raised to the Mendes throne by election, built the labyrinth. After an anarchy of five generations, Menes, of obscure birth, was advanced to the regal dignity. He was called, by the Greeks, Proteus, and Proteus they ascribed to him, as a great magician, the power of assuming all kinds of forms, even that

of fire; which was only emblematic of the custom of the Egyptians, to adorn and distinguish the heads of their kings, with the figures of animals and vegetables, and even with burning incense. During the reign of Proteus, Paris and Helen were driven into Egypt by a tempest, and with difficulty escaped the justice of the king, who threatened to punish them for their adultery.

Remphis.

Remphis, or, as he is likewise called, Rhampsinitus, was extremely avaricious, and caused a strong fortress to be built, in which to keep his treasures. He believed it to be inaccessible, but on visiting his riches, he found them continually diminish. The cause of this diminution was very simple. The architect, when he built the treasury, had placed one stone so artfully, that a single man might remove and replace it without the least alteration in its external appearance, and thus enter and carry away what he pleased. The builder, when dying, disclosed this secret to his two sons, who made that use of it which the king perceived by the diminution of his treasures. The king, therefore, placed snares around the vessels which contained the gold. The robbers, not suspecting any danger, came at night as usual. The foremost of them was taken, and perceiving that his escape was impossible, desired his brother to cut off his head, and carry it away with him, that he might not be compelled to discover his

accomplice. His brother, sensible of his danger, complied with his request, and the king, the next day, found only a body without a head, from which he could obtain no information. He now had recourse to every means he could devise, even to the prostitution of his own daughter, to discover the thief. But the latter, though he continually exposed himself, escaped all his attempts to detect him, and displayed so much ingenuity and address, that the king, to whom he at last ventured to discover himself, gave him his daughter in marriage, and employed him to advantage in the administration of public affairs.

After eight other monarchs, Cheops ascended the throne, and built the great pyramid. His daughter, who prostituted herself to aid her father to defray the expense of this edifice, built a small one with the particular presents of each of her lovers. It appears from history, that the Egyptian women were not very delicate with respect to their modesty.

We have, however, one example of a princess who killed herself, in consequence of a violation of her chastity. This was committed by her father Mycerinus, who became in love with his daughter, and ravished her; upon which she fell into a deep melancholy, and hanged herself. Her father celebrated her ob-

Cheops,
or Chem-
mis.

Mycerinus,
or Cherinus.

sequies with great magnificence. In other respects, this monarch is much extolled for his goodness and clemency. His virtues, it is said, hastened his death. An oracle had signified to him, that he had only six years to live. "But," replied he, "my father and my uncle, who were monsters of impiety and cruelty, lived to a great old age; my clemency will be but very ill rewarded, if so severe a prophecy should be fulfilled." "Your father and your uncle," replied the oracle, "knew the decrees of fate, which had condemned the Egyptians to one hundred and fifty years of bondage and misery, and acted conformably to it; but you have interrupted the course of their calamities, and opposed the decrees of fate, involuntarily, most certainly, but you shall nevertheless be punished." A singular manner of reasoning to be ascribed to the gods.

Gnephactus. Gnephactus is the king placed next after Mycerinus. He is celebrated for his temperance, the love of which he acquired by an accident. In an expedition which he made against the Arabs, his army, wanting provisions, was obliged to feed on the coarsest and most disagreeable aliments. He immediately conceived that the delicacies of the table might be dispensed with, and forbade them throughout his dominions. Any other person

would have rather recompensed himself for the want he had suffered, by indulging in the plenty in his power.

His son, Bocchoris the wife, merited that title by his useful institutions, for which he is considered as a legislator. Bocchoris the wife.

To establish credit, and promote the circulation of money, Afychis, his successor, permitted any one to borrow money on the body of his father, which thus became an inviolable obligation. The debtor gave the body as a pledge to his creditor, and until it was redeemed, neither he, nor any of his descendants, might be buried. Afychis.

An Ethiopian, named Sabbaco, ascended the throne by right of conquest, and drove from it Anyfis, who fled to the marshes. The Ethiopian had been commanded in a vision to undertake this expedition; and in another vision, fifty years afterwards, he was ordered to massacre all the priests; but he chose rather to abdicate the crown, and retired into his own country. Anyfis reascended the throne, and was succeeded after his death by Sethon, of the sacerdotal order. This succession of conquering, dethroned, and restored kings, shews a fermentation, which ended in a government of twelve kings. Sabbaco.

These twelve kings having become masters of the country, took every possible means to secure their power; but the greatest difficulty The twelve kings.

was to guard themselves against the ambition of each other. They consulted the oracle, which answered: "He among you, who shall first make a libation in a brazen cup, shall be king of all Egypt." Another oracle added: "He whom you shall misuse, shall be avenged by brazen men, who shall rise out of the sea." One day, when they were all assembled at a sacrifice, there were only eleven cups for the twelve; and one of them, named Psammitichus, filled his helmet, which was of brass, with wine, and with it made a libation. This was the explanation of the first oracle. His colleagues took the alarm, and banished him to the marshes, probably the lower part of Egypt. While he remained here, a prey to the indignation which such treatment excited in him, some inhabitants of the coasts ran to him, terrified, and exclaiming: "*Men of brass are coming out of the sea!*" These were Indian and Carian corsairs, in brass cuirasses, who had landed in search of pillage. Psammitichus perceived that this was the solution of the second oracle, entered into an alliance with the pirates, assembled an army, of which they composed the principal strength, at its head attacked the eleven kings, defeated them, and obtained the throne for himself alone. The epocha of this event is known. It happened in the year after the deluge, 2339, and with this monarch begins the true chronology of the Egyptian history.

From this time the Greeks were in great estimation in Egypt. Pfammetichus gave them lands, and placed the utmost confidence in them.

Pfammetichus.
Year of the
flood, 2339.

Two hundred thousand Egyptians, apparently of the military order, piqued at this preference, abandoned the monarch and their country, to seek another settlement. Pfammetichus sent messengers after them, and at length went himself, and made them great promises; but all in vain: they struck their lances on their bucklers, and answered: "While we have arms, we shall not want for a country; and while we have these," added they, indecently uncovering themselves, "we cannot want wives and children." They retired to Ethiopia, and established themselves in a fertile country.

To repair this loss, Pfammetichus endeavoured to attach his subjects to him by mildness and generosity, without, however, entirely neglecting strangers, for whom he still testified the highest respect. He opened to them his ports, and made commerce flourish. He endeavoured to discover the sources of the Nile, and was the first of the Egyptian kings who drank wine: yet was it more than two thousand years since Noah had planted the vine. It was likewise rather late for the enquiry—which was the most ancient nation in the world. Pfammetichus conceived this question might be determined by the first word pronounced by two children,

whom he caused to be brought up without ever hearing a human voice. At the end of two months, these children pronounced the word *beccos*, which in the Phrygian language, signifies bread, and hence he concluded, that the Phrygians were the most ancient people.

Nechos, or
Pharaoh
Necho,
2387.

It is reported that under Pharaoh Necho, his successor, the Egyptians, guided by the Phœnicians, sailed out of the Red Sea by the Straits of Babelmandel, directed their course towards the eastern coasts of Africa, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and having passed the Straits of Gibraltar, returned by the way of the Mediterranean to Egypt, where they arrived after a passage of three years.

While the fleets of Necho covered the Mediterranean and the Arabian gulph, his land-armies fought against the Medes and Babylonians, who had recently overthrown the Assyrian monarchy. He vanquished the former on the banks of the Euphrates; and triumphed, likewise, over the Jews under Ahaz, but was himself subdued, in his turn, by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

Pfammis.

We do not find that Pfammis, his son, continued this war. He must, no doubt, have had a great reputation for wisdom, since the Greeks sent to consult him concerning the regulations of the Olympic games. His first question was, "Are your own citizens, who judge between

"the competitors, allowed to contend in the
 "games?" It was answered, that they were.
 "Then," replied the king, "you offend against
 "the laws of hospitality, since it is natural
 "for them to favour their fellow-citizens more
 "than strangers." It is not known whether
 the deputies profited by this observation.

Apries, the Pharoah Hophra of Scripture, was Apries,
Pharoah
Hophra.
 a warlike prince. He continued or resumed the
 war against the Babylonians; and employed
 great forces, both by sea and land, against the
 Tyrians, Sidonians, and Cypriots. His artful
 policy deceived the Jews, whom he engaged in
 a war against Nebuchadnezzar, the emperor of
 Assyria. He afterwards abandoned them; but
 suffered, as a punishment, an insurrection in his
 own kingdom. He had offended his army;
 which, after a defeat, accused him of having
 been rashly exposed, and deserted. Amasis, one
 of his officers, put himself at the head of the
 malcontents. Apries employed against him
 an army of foreigners, who, notwithstanding
 their bravery, were beaten, and Apries fell into
 the hands of the conqueror.

Amasis wished to save the monarch, but the Amasis,
2430.
 people, ever ferocious in their enmity, obliged
 him to put him to death, and he was strangled.
 The life of Amasis, before he came to the
 throne, had been suitable to the lowness of his
 birth—licentious, and even criminal; for he had

supported his extravagance by robbery, and frequently could only extricate himself from the embarrassments into which this practice brought him by insolence and effrontery. He swore that he was a true soldier, brought up amidst the licentiousness of the camp, and that he could neither restrain nor correct himself in his inclinations for pleasures. His subjects sometimes failed in the respect due to him, at which he, in general, took but little offence. On one occasion, however, he determined to shew that he was not totally regardless of this want of reverence towards him, which he considered as drawn on him by the meanness of his birth. He caused a golden cistern, in which he used to wash his feet, to be made into an idol, which he placed in the most frequented temple of the city, where every one bowed down to it, and worshipped it. He then assembled his court, and thus addressed them: "The god you now adore was made of a vessel which served for the vilest uses. I, in like manner, was once a person in a low station; but now I am your king: forget not, therefore, the honour which is due to me." He punished those who had favoured and taken part with him in his irregularities, but testified the greatest respect and esteem for those who had endeavoured to detect and punish him for his crimes.

Egypt was very flourishing during the greater part of his reign. Whether it was from a natural goodness of taste, or a capacity to discover good workmen, he adorned his kingdom with magnificent edifices. He enacted one wise law, by which every Egyptian was obliged, once a year, to inform the magistrate by what kind of labour or profession he subsisted.

His reign would have been uninterruptedly fortunate, had he not violently incensed against him Cambyfes, king of Persia, as it is said, by refusing to give him one of his daughters, imagining that he only wished to have her for a concubine. The pride of the Persian was so much offended that he raised a powerful army against the king of Egypt. He induced his ablest general to revolt from him; and to procure a fleet, took advantage of the very impolitic conduct of Amasis, towards Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, with whom he had always maintained the strictest friendship.

The Egyptian monarch had written, in confidence, the following letter to the sovereign of Samos :

“ I learn that you are continually prosperous
“ and successful, and I fear you will soon suffer
“ a disastrous change, if you do not procure
“ to yourself some trouble or loss which may
“ be an alloy to your too constant happiness.
“ Consider, therefore, what you possess which

“ you esteem most valuable, and which you
 “ should most sensibly regret to lose. Throw this
 “ away in such a manner that it may never more
 “ be found, and if fortune shall still obstinately
 “ continue to favour you, persevere in applying
 “ a remedy to prosperity, by the means which
 “ I have pointed out.” Polycrates, complied
 with the whimsical advice of his friend, and
 having a signet which he particularly valued,
 took an opportunity to throw it into the sea;
 it was however found, a few days after, in the
 belly of a fish that was brought to him. “ This,”
 said Amasis, “ is a too constant prosperity; I
 “ may be involved in the calamities which await
 “ Polycrates.” He therefore immediately sig-
 nified to him, that he renounced his friendship;
 and Polycrates, piqued at his conduct, furnished
 Cambyfes with a fleet of ships to convey him
 and his army to Egypt.

Pfammeni-
 tus, 2474.

Amasis did not live to witness the victory of
 Cambyfes: the scourge fell on Pfammenitus, his
 son and successor. A single battle threw him into
 the power of the Persians, and was attended
 with circumstances which it will be proper to
 relate, to shew the dreadful nature of reprisals.

The general who had abandoned the stand-
 ard of Amasis was named Phanes, and was a
 Greek. His soldiers remained faithful to the
 Egyptians, when their leader deserted; and
 knowing that he was in the Persian army, to

give Psammenitus a proof of their attachment, took the children of Phanes, whom they had detained with them, led them to the army when ready to join battle, and, in sight of their father, and his new friends, cut their throats over a vessel which received their blood, and drank it in presence of the two armies. The conflict which ensued was dreadful, both parties were animated by rage and despair; but the Egyptians at length gave way, and fled to Memphis. Cambyfes sent a herald to them, to require them to surrender; but, in a phrenzy of rage, they tore the herald in pieces, and dragged his mangled body through the city. The cruel are ever cowards, and the Persians easily made themselves masters of the city. The punishment of the populace, who, perhaps, had alone been guilty of these enormities, fell upon the persons of elevated rank who had not restrained their fury.

Ten days after the taking of the city, the king of Egypt was dragged ignominiously into the suburb, to act a part in one of the most dismal tragedies that can possibly be conceived. He was seated in an elevated place, when immediately his daughter appeared in the habit of a wretched slave, with a pitcher in her hand to draw water, the badge of the lowest servitude. She was followed by the daughters of the greatest families in Egypt, all in the same servile at-

tire, and deploring with loud lamentations their unhappy condition. Their fathers, who had been placed with Psammenitus, burst into tears at this wretched sight. He alone, though ready to sink under his distress, shed not a tear, but only fixed his eyes on the ground. These females were followed by the son of Psammenitus, and two thousand of the chief Egyptian youths, all with bits in their mouths, and halters round their necks. They were led to be sacrificed to the manes of the Persian herald who had been massacred. Psammenitus, as if in a state of stupefaction, never raised his eyes, while the Egyptians around him uttered the wildest exclamations of despair. But the monarch, who appeared so to suppress all signs of sensibility, perceiving among the crowd one of his intimate friends, whose exterior appearance exhibited every sign of the most extreme wretchedness, burst into a flood of tears, and struck himself on the head like one frantic. Cambyfes enquired of him how he explained this difference of behaviour. "The calamities of my own family," answered he, "are too great to admit of that reflexion which occasions tears to flow; but the sight of a friend reduced to distress, allows me time to reflect, and permits me to weep." Are tears then only the effect of reflection?

This answer convinced the Persian monarch

that he had felt the full weight of his calamity. He thought him sufficiently punished, and sent to stop the execution of his son, but he was already put to death. Psammenitus having afterwards shewn some desire to take revenge, was likewise condemned to die, and ended his life, after a reign of six months. Cambyfes glutted his vengeance and fury upon all Egypt, which he pillaged and laid waste in the most inhuman manner. He caused the body of Amasis to be taken out of his tomb, cut in pieces, and burnt. But what most affected the Egyptians, was the death of the ox Apis, their god, which he killed with his own hand. This insult, which they considered as offered to the whole nation, made such an impression upon them, that they ever afterwards retained an implacable hatred against the Persians, and could never be brought to submit quietly to their dominion.

Reduced to a province of the Persian empire, ^{Inarus,} Egypt became the perpetual nursery of seditions. ^{2539.} The Egyptians furiously champed the bit that restrained them, and whoever offered himself as their deliverer was accepted. On this condition, they bestowed the crown on Inarus, king of Lybia. This prince maintained himself for some time against the Persians, but was at last defeated and taken prisoner, though he had powerful succours from the Athenians. The victors inhumanly caused him to be crucified.

This terrible example, however, did not prevent the Egyptians from finding other leaders against the Persians: so many charms has a crown! That of Egypt was successively worn by Amyrtæus and seven princes after him; but their authority was always precarious, and frequently overthrown by the Persians, notwithstanding the assistance of the Greeks, who, during these times, acquired a great influence in Egypt, and took care to be well paid for the succours they afforded.

Tachos,
2632.

It for some time appeared probable, that Tachos, who was a native of Egypt, would be able to establish himself on the throne on which he had been placed, but he had not the prudence to commit himself to the guidance of Agesilaus, king of Sparta. The plain and simple appearance of this old general displeased him; and he confided the principal part of his forces to another general, who was defeated. This defeat so irritated the Egyptians, that they drove Tachos from the throne; Agesilaus contributing to the success of the revolt, in revenge for the contempt with which he had been treated by the king.

Nectanebus,
2642.

The leader of the insurgents, Nectanebus, likewise an Egyptian by birth, now assumed the crown. The people, accustomed to faction, endeavoured to recal their own act, and the new king was besieged in a town; but by the assist-

ance of Agesilaus he defeated the assailants. He afterwards concluded a treaty of alliance with several nations against the Persians, who still continued to harass him in his kingdom. The Persians, however, made a last effort, and again conquered Egypt. Nectanebus collected all he could of his treasures, and fled to Ethiopia, whence he never returned. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Ezekiel. "There shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."

Thus the richest and most flourishing of kingdoms, the depository of the arts and sciences, powerful in fleets and land forces, which had often given laws to the neighbouring countries, and extended its conquests to the most distant lands, celebrated for its attachment to its religion and its kings, the centre of commerce from its position between two seas, inaccessible to invasions from the deserts which surrounded it, became, and has not ceased to continue, the prey of factions and foreign invaders, and is only visited by travellers as a country venerable for its ruins, and the remains of its former greatness.

MOABITES.

The history of Egypt is connected with that of the Israelites, by the vicinity of the countries inhabited by the two nations; but before we speak of the latter, it will be proper to give some ac-

Moabites, situated between the lake Asphaltitis, the river Jordan, the Ammo-

rites, and
the coun-
tries of
Midian and
Edom.

count of the several tribes of people with whom they had to encounter, before they took possession of the land of Canaan, or *land of promise*.

The first were the Moabites, the descendants of Moab, the son of Lot, by his eldest daughter. Lot was the nephew of Abraham, who took him under his protection, and carried him with him into Egypt, when he was compelled by famine to remove into that country. When they separated on account of the number of their cattle and followers, Abraham resigned to Lot the plain of Jordan, and Lot took up his abode in the vicinity of Sodom, the inhabitants of which, as a punishment for their infamous practices, were destroyed by fire from heaven. Flying, with his two daughters, from this execrable country, he took refuge in a cave. The simple girls imagining that all mankind had been destroyed by the burning of Sodom, and not willing that the world should so soon end, made their father Lot intoxicated, and became pregnant, the eldest of Moab, the father of the Moabites, and the youngest of Ammon, the father of the Ammonites.

Country
and man-
ners.

The country of the Moabites is mountainous and proper for pasturage. The capital was named Ar. They were governed by kings, and practised circumcision. Moses found them still retaining the belief of one only God, a truth they had, no doubt, derived from Lot, but

obscured by false and idolatrous notions. They were addicted to obscenity in their manners. They sacrificed, upon mountains, bulls and wild goats, and even, on extraordinary occasions, human victims. The children of Moab, multiplying and extending themselves, drove out or destroyed the first inhabitants of the country, a gigantic and terrible race, descended from Ham, but whom they found much enfeebled by the victories of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam.

Balak, one of their kings, being hard pressed by the Israelites, when they entered the promised land under Joshua, and not having sufficient force to withstand them, had recourse to the arms of the weak—superstition and seduction. Persuaded that there was a secret virtue attached to imprecations and maledictions uttered against an enemy, Balak sent for a prophet, named Balaam, desiring him to come and ascend a mountain, whence he might view and curse the enemy's army. Balaam set out on the journey, but his ass refused to go forward. Balaam struck her; but the animal still refused to proceed; and, speaking miraculously with man's voice, reproached him with his ill-treatment of her, when an angel barred the way against her. Balaam, however, desirous to obtain the presents which had been promised him, prepared to pronounce the maledictions required

of him ; but, against his will, he could only utter blessings. Indignant that he should thus be compelled to foretel the success and prosperity of the people he wished to destroy, he said to Balak : “ It is in vain that you attempt to do
“ injury to this people, while they shall be faithful to their God ; the only means to conquer
“ them is, to induce them to forget their religion. Send into their camp some of the
“ most beautiful of your women, properly instructed how to act, and be certain of success.” The scheme was successful ; from debauchery, the Israelites soon proceeded to idolatry. God punished them by a plague, which carried off several thousands of them, and the Moabites were delivered.

A king of this nation, named Eglon, held the Israelites in a state of subjection during eighteen years, and imposed on them a heavy tribute. A Benjamite, named Ehud, who was sent to pay this tribute, formed the resolution to deliver his nation from this slavery, and succeeded, by killing the tyrant. The Moabites in their turn were subjugated by the Israelites, during the reign of David, and in general shared in the success or misfortunes of their conquerors. With them they were led into captivity, revolted, and were again subjected ; till at length they were intermingled and confounded with the great nations

which ravaged those countries, where, it is said, some of their descendants still remain, under the general denomination of Arabs.

AMMONITES.

Ammon, the father of the Ammonites, was the son of Lot, by his youngest daughter. They found, like the Moabites, the country which they took possession of inhabited by giants, who gradually became extinct. The country was level and fruitful in grain. The capital was named Rabbah. They were governed by kings, and practised circumcision. These are all the particulars known concerning them. We have as little knowledge of their religion, which was, no doubt, originally pure in its principle, though it was afterwards polluted by the worship of Moloch, the god of fire, to whom they offered their children. Some writers say that they only made them pass through the flames to purify them; but others assert, what is but too probable, that they threw them alive into brazen furnaces, to the sound of drums, which prevented the cries of the unhappy victims from being heard.

The Ammonites; situated between the mountains of Galaad, the Jordan, the river of Ammon, the Moabites, and the deserts of Arabia.

They were frequently engaged in war with the Israelites, with various success. An atrocious act of cruelty is related of Nahash, one of their kings. Having reduced to the last extremity the city of Jabelh, which he besieged, the inha-

bitants offered to surrender, and acknowledge him as their sovereign. "I will consent to your proposal," answered he, "but only on condition that every one of you shall lose his right eye." The inhabitants asked seven days to deliberate on this terrible proposition; and in the interval succours arrived, and the barbarian was disappointed of his inhuman triumph.

The imprudence of a young king, named Hanun, occasioned a cruel war on the part of David. The latter prince had sent ambassadors to congratulate the former on his accession to the throne. Hanun suffered himself to be persuaded by ignorant or wicked counsellors, that these ambassadors were only sent as spies; and, on this supposition, he caused half their beards to be shaved off, and their garments to be cut off at the middle, and sent them back thus shamefully disfigured. David had recourse to arms, and the war continued many years, till at length Hanun was besieged in his capital, and killed in an assault. David, according to Josephus, took from the head of the deceased king his crown of gold, ornamented with precious stones of great value, and put all the inhabitants of the city to death by the most cruel tortures. Those of the other cities of Ammon were not treated with more lenity. This carnage erased the Ammonites from the list of warlike nations for a long time. They re-

appeared under the Maccabees, but were soon again confounded with the great nations surrounding them, and now only exist in very small numbers, like their brethren the Moabites, under the general name of Arabs.

MIDIANITES.

To the east of Jordan, on the shores of the Red Sea, and the confines of Arabia Petræa, dwelt the Midianites, the descendants of Midian the son of Abraham, by Keturah his handmaid. This situation rendered them shepherds and merchants. The former lived in tents, and fed their flocks in plains, partly verdant, and partly sandy, and interspersed with rocks; stopping where they found springs and pasturage, and removing to other places as either failed.

The Midianites, situated in Arabia Petræa, between the lake Aspharitis, the Red Sea, and Idumæa.

Among the cattle which composed their herds were a number of camels and dromedaries. These they sold to great advantage to such of their countrymen as were addicted to commerce. These merchants employed them in the same manner as they are used at present, to travel over the desert; and brought home to the shepherds the perfumes of Arabia. Their situation near the Red Sea, likewise, rendered them mariners. By this channel they procured the rich silks, and other commodities of India; so that their tents of course were frequently filled with every Asiatic luxury.

Manners and Customs.

Religion.

Wandering and unsettled nations have rarely a fixed mode of worship; that is only established by communication and instruction in large societies, and especially in cities, of which the Midianites had very few. Their capital was called Midian, or Madian; its ruins, bearing the same name, still remain. They did not practise circumcision; they worshipped principally false gods, but at the same time paid adoration to the true. Jethro, styled the priest of Midian, who had formed a friendly connection with Moses, his son-in-law, left among the Midianites, his brethren, a race who never defiled themselves with idolatrous rites, but who likewise made but few proselytes.

Govern-
ment.

The chains of government hung not heavier on them than the yoke of religion. They were sometimes ruled by a king, and sometimes by several chiefs, who were obeyed and revered as much as could be expected among a people so inclined to independence. Their wars were incursions much dreaded by the Israelites, who were greatly exposed to them, and sometimes took a cruel revenge; though this was not always easy to effect. The Midianites overran the country like a torrent, ravaged it, and fled; and when they were thought at a great distance, returned to pillage what they had left. If they were obstinately pursued, they all; men, women, children, and cattle, fled far into the desert, leaving no traces behind them of their route.

Their wars with the Israelites were at all times very bloody: the two nations seem to have vied with each other in their attempts at mutual extermination. When either obtained a victory, they massacred all they found, and reduced the towns to ashes. After undergoing the same vicissitudes of fortune as the Israelites, the Midianites were intermingled and lost among the more celebrated nations of Arabia.

EDOMITES, or IDUMÆANS.

The Edomites, or Idumæans, were the descendants of Abraham by Isaac his son, who was the father of Esau, called likewise Edom. The country they inhabited has undergone such changes that it is impossible to ascertain its exact position and extent. We only know, that sometimes enlarged, and sometimes contracted, it was situated between Midian, the Jordan, and the Mediterranean, on which it bordered. In some places it was mountainous, but possessed rivers and springs, and was formerly fruitful in wine and grain.

The Edomites, or Idumæans, situated between Midian, the Jordan, and the Mediterranean.

It is equally difficult to describe the manners and customs of the Idumæans, which must have changed during so long a series of ages. In their flourishing state they carried on a great commerce, both by the way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, but principally with Tyre and Sidon. They kept on foot numerous forces,

Manners and Customs

and a great number of armed chariots, which, in those times, decided the fate of battles. Their cities were well built and strongly fortified; and they cultivated the sciences and arts. They have been censured for an unsociability of character, for harshness and pride, which never forsook them, even when under the greatest misfortunes.

Religion
and Govern-
ment.

As they were the descendants of Isaac, they preserved circumcision, and the worship of one God, with the exception of some idolatrous ceremonies, which ignorance, prejudice, the corruption of their manners, and the bad example of their neighbours, might introduce. Their first government was patriarchal, but afterwards that of an elective kingdom.

Though the Edomites were the children of Isaac by Esau, and the Jews descended from the same father by Jacob, these two fraternal nations were ever the most implacable enemies. The Idumæans in the country in which they were, so to speak, planted by Esau, found ancient inhabitants, the race of whom insensibly became extinct. They remained there alone, and established and fortified themselves; and when they had obtained undisturbed possession of the country, a whole nation issued from the deserts, in which they had wandered during forty years, and poured at once on this flourishing land. The king of Edom at first opposed

their passage, but afterwards entered into a treaty with them.

The antipathy which Esau constantly manifested against his brother Jacob, for defrauding him of his birth-right, is well known; and it seems as if this sentiment had become hereditary among their descendants. The Idumæans and the Jews did not make war like other nations; they appeared to be actuated by a kind of fury, which excited them not merely to conquer, but to exterminate each other. After a great battle, in which the Idumæans lost eighteen thousand men, Joab, the general of David, put all he met with to the sword. The unhappy remains of this unfortunate people took refuge partly among the Moabites, and partly in Egypt; to which country Hadad, their king, retired. He afterwards endeavoured to regain his kingdom, but without success. Idumæa remained subject to the house of David, and governed by viceroys appointed by the kings of Judah. The Idumæans attempted to break their chains, which the Jews then rendered more heavy. They again endeavoured to shake them off; but suffered a disastrous defeat, which was followed by the loss of their capital, situated among rocks, from which the general of the conquering army caused ten thousand of his prisoners to be thrown down and dashed to pieces.

After such severe treatment it is not surprizing that they should ever retain a violent hatred of the Jews, against whom they were constantly ready to league with other nations. Reduced, like them, to slavery by the Babylonians, they appear to have considered their misfortune as alleviated by that of their ancient enemies, and thus used every effort to induce their common conqueror to raze Jerusalem to the ground.

This portrait of the obstinate and vindictive character of the Idumæans would be imperfect, were we not to remark, that they were as much addicted to civil disputes as to foreign contests; and enfeebled themselves by perpetual wars at home and abroad, till they were, at length, forced to take refuge in a corner of the country, the whole of which they had formerly occupied with honour. They were confounded in the mass of the Jews, whom they abhorred, and with the dregs of countries whose alliance they had often rendered subservient to their interest or caprice.

AMALEKITES.

The Amalekites, situated between Canaan, Egypt, and the deserts on the side of the sea.

The Amalekites were the descendants of Eliphaz, the first-born of Esau, by his concubine Timna; whereas the Idumæans were the offspring of a legitimate wife. On this diversity of origin was founded the rivalry which constantly existed between these two nations.

In other respects they appear to have resembled each other in their religion, their taste for the arts, and their commerce, which their situation between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean encouraged them to cultivate and extend. It is even conjectured that they were warriors and conquerors, and made a part of the *Shepherds* who subdued Egypt, and reigned there during two hundred years. It was probably this brilliant success which caused them to be stiled, by the Jewish historians, *the first of nations*. Annexed to this illustrious title is found, however, the fatal prediction: *their name shall be put out from under heaven*. Arts and Customs.

In fact, perpetual wars against their neighbours, and especially the Jews, insensibly ruined them. Saul made a terrible slaughter of them, and was not permitted to save Agag their king, who was hewn in pieces by the prophet Samuel: David exterminated those who had escaped the former massacre. After this terrible execution, we meet no more with the name of Amalek but in the history of Esther; in whose time Haman, an Amalekite, to revenge an affront he imagined himself to have received from the Jew Mordecai, conceived the design of causing to be cut off, in a single night, not only all the Jews dispersed in the states of Ahasuerus king of Babylon, but even those who had been left in Ju-

dea to mourn over the ruins of their country. This dreadful design recoiled on Haman, who was exterminated with all his family ; and the Jews received permission to pursue and put to death their enemies wherever they could find them. They made a great slaughter of them, and since this event, nothing more has been heard of the Amalekites.

CANAANITES.

Canaanites,
situate be-
tween
Mount Li-
banus, the
Moabites,
and the
Philistines.

It is as difficult to ascertain the boundaries of the country of the Canaanites, as to determine the parts of it inhabited by the several tribes of that people. They were seven, or, according to some accounts, nine, in number, and the descendants of Ham, the son of Noah. These tribes were principally the objects of the malediction uttered by Noah on Canaan their ancestor, and their destiny was, to be at length exterminated, expelled, or enslaved.

**Manners
and Cus-
toms,**

Very little is known of the Canaanites before the irruption of the Israelites into their country. From some circumstances incidentally mentioned by the Jewish historians, it has been concluded that the Canaanites were shepherds, husbandmen, soldiers, artificers, merchants, or sailors, according to the nature and situation of the part of the country which they inhabited. Each

tribe was governed by a king, and they frequently united against Israel their common enemy. The resistance they made when invaded renders it probable that they were good soldiers. They had strong cities and fortresses, in which they sustained long sieges, and practised all the expedients which the art of defence at that time supplied. In fine, these seven tribes composed, as it were, one nation, governed by laws common to all, with some which were peculiar to each. The same was true of their religion. We find, on the one hand, Melchisedec, who was one of their kings, professing openly the worship of the true God; and on the other, priests of Moloch, barbarously burning the children, which a part of the Canaanites offered as a sacrifice to that infernal divinity.

It appears, however, that their kings were not despotic. Both foreign and domestic affairs were regulated in popular assemblies. Thus the whole people, and not their king Ephron alone, treated with Abraham for a piece of ground for a burial place. Their chiefs seldom employed any other power than that of persuasion, as appears from the story of Dinah.

Hamor, king of Shechem, had a son who became violently enamoured of Dinah, the daughter of Jacob. Hurried away by his passion, he gratified his love for her by force. Her brothers

flew to arms to avenge the insult. Hamor, with tears in his eyes, entreated Jacob and his sons to pardon the intemperate conduct of the young prince, whose intentions had never been dishonourable, and who was willing to marry Dinah. The brothers consented to the marriage, and to forget the injury, on condition that Hamor should be circumcised with all his family. Hamor assembled the people, and represented to them the advantage of such an alliance, which could only be rendered solid by complying with the terms proposed. The people consented; the operation was performed; but on the third day after, when they were sore, as the expression of the Jewish historian is, Simeon and Levi, the sons of Jacob, appeared at the head of their servants all armed. Men, women, children, cattle, where all mercilessly slaughtered, without resistance on the part of the Canaanites, who, from the pain occasioned by the operation they had undergone, were incapable of making any defence.

Kings.

Their history after this event is only a long series of wars with the Israelites, in which they were more frequently unfortunate than successful. Their defeats were always accompanied with marvellous and disastrous circumstances. Arad, the king of the south of Canaan, and Og, king Bashan, attempting to resist the first efforts of

the people of God, were entirely destroyed. Joshua took Jericho by a miracle, and left alive only one woman and her family. The king of Ai was strangled in view of his city, a prey to the flames. The Gibeonites escaped the common fate by deceiving their enemies into an alliance, pretending that they came from a distant country. Joshua gave them their lives, but condemned them to perpetual slavery. Five kings leagued together, and placed Adonizedek at the head of their forces, to stop the progress of Joshua. The latter called down upon them a shower of stones, which crushed their troops, caused the sun to stand still to complete their defeat, and hanged all the five at the entrance of a cave in which they had taken refuge. Seven other princes, who had united together, perished, with their people, under the successors of Joshua. Adonibezek, who had caused the thumbs and great toes of seventy Canaanite kings or chiefs to be cut off, underwent himself the same punishment. Sisera, who had expected to crush Israel under the wheels of his chariots of iron, of which he had nine hundred in his army, was put to flight, and perished by the hand of a woman, who drove a nail into his temples. Thus every thing contributed to the sanguinary triumphs of the chosen people, while the wretched Canaanites, under the proscribing anathema, were annihilated in despite of all the

efforts of their valour. Some were buried under the ruins of their cities, which others abandoned filled with rage and indignation. Some of the latter founded colonies in Africa, others formed settlements on the sea-coast, where commerce rendered them celebrated by the name of Phœnicians. The most inconsiderable part of them remained, by the permission of the conquerors, in the country of which they had been formerly masters.

PHILISTINES.

The Philistines, situated along the coasts of the Mediterranean, between Amalek, Edom, and the tribes of Dan, Simeon, and Judah.

Unlike the tribes of which we have just spoken, who were destined to extermination by the sword of the Israelites, the Philistines were; as it were, a scourge in the hand of God to chastise his own people. Their country, level on the side of the sea, rises from it in mountains and hills not only extremely fertile, but embellished with beautiful prospects. It contains no rivers, but numerous small streams descend from the mountains. The climate is mild and temperate. From the Philistines it took the name of Palestine, which was continued to the country inhabited anciently by the Jews. Their principal cities were: Gaza, a little within the land, but in some measure joined to the sea by a small port at a little distance; Ascalon, a real seaport; and Ashdod, or Azotus, situated on a hill amidst vineyards. They were surrounded by

vallies fertile in corn. These cities are still in existence.

The Philistines were descended from Ham, and possibly might have been an Egyptian colony. Their chiefs had, at first, only a limited power, or rather their government was a species of aristocracy. They elected chiefs who were accountable sometimes to the principal men, and sometimes to the people; so that their government may be considered as occasionally becoming a democratic republic. Their language differed but little from that of the Jews, and they were doubtless equally versed in the arts known to the latter. The invention of the bow and arrow is attributed to them. There were among them giants, the remains of an ancient race that had been destroyed.

Abimelech, one of their kings, appears to Religion. have had a knowledge of the true God; but this light gradually became extinct, and few countries have been more deeply plunged in the darkness of idolatry. Dagon was worshipped at Ashdod; Astarte, or Venus, at Gath; Beelzebub, or the god of flies, at Ekron, where was a celebrated oracle. The Philistines performed the ceremonies of their religion with much pomp, in spacious and elegant temples. They offered to their gods the most valuable part of their spoil. Though extremely superstitious, they never sacrificed human victims.

Two kings, named Abimelech, successively became enamoured, the one of the wife of Abraham, and the other of the wife of Isaac, whom these patriarchs pretended to be their sisters; and both sovereigns restored them untouched to their husbands, accompanying their restitution with presents. Though in those early times there existed a good understanding between the two nations, disputes soon arose between them, and they were almost continually at war with each other. Under the reign of Jephtha, Sampson, renowned for his great bodily strength, was the occasion of much loss and disgrace to the Philistines. He at different times killed numbers of their youth, took Ascalon, carried away the gates of Gaza on his shoulders, and burnt their harvests. They at length made him their prisoner, and put out his eyes. But the chiefs of the nation having caused him to be brought to make sport in the temple in which they were assembled, he shook down the pillars that supported it, and buried them, together with himself, in the ruins.

We are unacquainted with the particulars of a great part of the advantages which this people gained over the Israelites; but they must, no doubt, have been considerable, since the Philistines took the ark of the covenant, that sacred deposit, so dear to the people of God. This they placed in the temple of Dagon their

idol, as an offering to that divinity. God punished them for their temerity by overthrowing their idol, and afflicting them with a shameful disease. Another proof of the superiority of the Philistines is, that they took from the Israelites all their arms, and did not even suffer a smith to remain among them. From this humiliating situation the latter were, however, retrieved by the victories of the youth David, who with one stroke of a stone from his sling killed the giant Goliath, armed from head to foot in brazen armour.

The Philistines afterwards regained their superiority in a great battle, in which Saul was killed. David revenged the defeat of the Israelites; and other kings of Israel subjected them to their yoke, which, however, they soon shook off, and were never entirely subdued. At length, as if the destinies of these two people were continually to balance each other, after having mutually exhausted their strength, they passed together under the dominion of the Assyrians, and the nation of the Philistines was lost.

These were the different tribes of people which possessed, before the Israelites, the land promised to the latter, who were opposed in their conquests, and sometimes enslaved by some neighbouring nations whose history ought like-

wife to precede that of the Jews, since it tends to elucidate the events recorded in it.

SYRIANS.

Syria; between Mount Taurus, the Euphrates, Arabia the Desert, Palestine, the Mediterranean, and Cilicia.

Syria has been divided into several provinces, of which the boundaries and the names have perpetually varied. It contains high mountains, considerable rivers, fertile lands, and deserts. While severe cold freezes the summits of Mount Taurus, and Libanus and Antilibanus are covered with snow; while other parts of Syria, without winds or shade, languish beneath a sultry heat which enfeebles both the mind and the body; refreshing breezes circulate among the hills at the foot of the high mountains, follow the course of the river Orontes, and infuse new life into the inhabitants of these delicious countries. Among the natural curiosities of Syria, are to be reckoned the cedars of Lebanon, anciently the objects of worship, and still of a kind of religious reverence; two vallies of salt, which are impregnated with that mineral to an unfathomable depth; and, lastly, the medicinal waters of Palmyra.

Balbec and Palmyra.

When war, civil discord, and the hand of time, shall have destroyed our cities, the travellers whom their celebrity shall attract to the deserts where they stood, to contemplate the remains of their ancient grandeur, will find

heaps of fearful ruins, but no where such noble vestiges of magnificence as enforce our admiration at Balbeck and Palmyra.

Balbeck, situated in a delightful plain at the foot of Mount Libanus, appears to have been the residence of several powerful kings, who successively inhabited its palaces. One alone could not have completed edifices the remains of which are still so astonishing. The city is entirely in ruins, but it is impossible to take a single step among them without meeting with most valuable fragments of sculpture and architecture, numberless statues, columns, spacious vaults, walls covered with bas-reliefs, long flights of stairs of the most beautiful marble, and every thing which can adorn edifices superb in themselves. In this astonishing mass of ruins, we find the more ancient ruins intermingled with the light and graceful ornaments of the Greek and Roman artists. The latter have introduced on the columns their fasces, the eagle, and the attributes of their gods. An inclosing wall presents us with three stones, one of which is sixty-three feet, and the two others sixty feet, in length, twelve in breadth, and the same in thickness, raised to the height of thirty feet. Many others are likewise of prodigious dimensions; and all were brought from the quarries of Lebanon.

Palmyra, surrounded on all sides by a sandy

desert, at a distance from the Euphrates, offers to our view, ruins, which, from their quantity, masses, and variety, are not less astonishing than those of Balbeck. Its splendor is represented as cotemporary with Solomon. The Greeks and Romans have, as at Balbeck, left here the traces of their elegant arts. We still find here temples, amphitheatres, circuses, and tombs, in which human vanity survives the memory of those deposited in them. Their names are effaced, but those of queen Zenobia and Longinus will live with eulogium in the annals of history.

Manners
and customs.

The Syrians were the descendants of Aram, the youngest of the sons of Shem. Several Canaanite families, who had escaped from the sword of Israel, took refuge and intermingled with them; so that they were likewise descended, in part, from Ham. Syria was at first divided into small kingdoms, of which the principal was Damascus, which in time subdued and absorbed all the others. In general, the Syrians have been, and still are, considered as a feeble and effeminate nation. From some of the practices and customs that prevailed among them, by which they not only imitated the manners of women, but even endeavoured to resemble them in sex, we might conclude that they were ashamed to be men.

Such customs might be derived from the cli-

mate, but are still more to be attributed to their religion, than which antiquity afforded none whose rites and emblems tended more to debauch the imagination and corrupt the manners. Their principal divinity was a goddess; and the parts of generation were the objects of their worship. The images of these were sculptured on the walls of the temples, or raised in trophies of a prodigious size. The most revered of their priests were eunuchs, who always wore the habit of women, and affected soft and effeminate manners.

The origin of this custom is attributed to the Combabus. adventure of Combabus, a young and handsome nobleman, whom a king of Syria had appointed to command the escort of Stratonice, his queen, during a long pilgrimage. Fearing he should be accused of abusing the confidence reposed in him, when so frequently alone with a woman so beautiful, Combabus performed on himself a cruel operation, and deposited the proofs of it in a sealed box, which he gave into the hands of the king. As he had foreseen, calumny did not fail to accuse him; and on his return he was condemned to death. But when on his way to the place of execution, he requested that the king would open the box; in which were found the indubitable proofs of his innocence. The king, greatly affected with the sacrifice he had made, offered him the greatest dignities in his king-

dom; but Cambabus refused them, and rather chose to pass his life in a temple which Stratonice caused to be built. He drew thither other candidates, who, actuated by religious fanaticism, devoted themselves by the same operation their chief had undergone; and afterwards, on certain festival days, Syrian youths, transported with a kind of delirium, mutilated themselves in the temple. The madness of this singular institution was propagated, and even tolerated, among the Romans. It is said, that these wretched men sometimes cherished a violent passion for the sex; and that this passion, far from appearing scandalous or strange, was considered as holy and pure.

The temple of the great Syrian goddess resembled a pantheon, or assemblage of all the Greek divinities, though it is not easy to say, whether the Syrians derived them from the Greeks, or the Greeks from the Syrians. The sanctuary was filled with a train of gods and goddesses. Jupiter, Apollo, Mercury, Juno, Venus, Minerva; in fine, all the divinities which peopled the Greek Olympus. The goddess herself bore as ornaments the attributes of all the female divinities; the sceptre of Juno, the girdle of Venus, the distaff of Nemesis, the sheers of the Fates; each emblem adorned with precious stones of the greatest value for their splendor and size. The sun and moon had also their thrones in the temple, but

without statues. In it was the statue of Semiramis, who is believed to have built it; and, which may appear extraordinary, those of Helen, Hecuba, Andromache, Paris, Hector, and, in a word, all the heroes of Troy. This mixture occasions a great uncertainty with respect to the opinion which we ought to form of the Syrian religious doctrines; and the rather, since there were likewise the statues of other gods presiding over maladies, plagues, and infirmities, as those of Philomela, Progne, and Tereus, changed into a bird, and even of Sardanapalus. In fine, here was shewed with religious veneration a cleft through which the waters of the flood of deucalion drained off.

Nothing was wanting to this temple: within it were kept horses, lions, eagles, and other animals, all sacred and tame. In a lake surrounded with statues, sacred fishes were likewise kept. It is not known whether it was in honour of them that incense was burnt day and night on an altar which appeared to float in this lake, for it was not easy to discover by what it was supported. This arsenal of paganism would not have been complete, had it not possessed an oracle: this was that of Apollo, the only one of these gods who was represented as clothed. The answers were given by the divinity through his organs the priests, according to certain fearful noises heard in the temple,

the gates of which remained shut. It would be difficult to describe what passed in a kind of perfumed chapels, and certain groves, breathing only voluptuousness; in which impure fanaticism permitted, and even enjoined, such infamous excesses, that the most debauched of our libertines would turn from them with disgust; yet were these revels, if we believe the Greek historians, perfectly conformable to the character of the nation in general.

Arts, sciences, and commerce.

This dissoluteness and effeminacy did not prevent the Syrians from making considerable progress in the arts and sciences. Their happy situation, almost in the centre of the ancient world, rendered them, as it were, the depositaries and guardians of the knowledge of other nations. They long preserved them in books written in their language, which, as well as the characters they used, greatly resembled the Hebrew. They carried on a trade, especially by the Euphrates, by which they procured the merchandize of Persia and India, and conveyed it to the more western parts of Asia. Their country was, likewise, the road from the most commercial coast of the Red Sea to the Mediterranean; and they had on the former a port which, for some time, rendered them masters of the commerce of Egypt.

Kings of
Zobah.
3955-

Several districts of Syria have had their kings, with the number and succession of which we

are but little acquainted. The most famous of those of Zobah was Hadadezer, who carried on an unsuccessful war against David. He had before aspired to the sovereignty of all Syria; but when he saw his troops and those of his allies defeated, he should have considered himself as fortunate that he was not driven from the throne of his little kingdom.

That of Damascus rose on its ruins. Three of its sovereigns engaged in wars against the Israelites, of which we are ignorant of the events. The fruitless attempts of Benhadad are better known. Our astonishment is naturally excited at the number of troops which these ancient kings of Syria were able to bring into the field, and the arrogant pretensions with which such formidable armies inspired them. Benhadad, encamping before Samaria, demanded nothing less of Ahab than that he should suffer his palace, and the houses of his nobles, to be searched, and all the riches in them to be carried away, even wives and children, at the pleasure of the searchers. "If he refuses," added he, "I will bring an army so numerous, that if every soldier shall only carry away a handful of dust of the ruins, no trace of the city shall remain." This menace had the usual fate of such kind of bravados. Benhadad was in his camp, where he believed himself secure, when he was informed that a small body of the Israelites had come out

Kings of
Damascus.
Benhadad,
2059.

of the city. "Let them be brought to me alive," said he. This small troop of determined men was headed by Ahab, who had made a fally to surprize the Syrians, then celebrating an entertainment. At the first attack of the king. of Israel, the Syrians, seized with a panic terror, fled with the utmost precipitation to their own country.

"This victory," said the courtiers of Benhadad to their master, "it was easy for Ahab to obtain, for his gods are gods of the hills, but ours are gods of the plains: let us then fight against the Israelites in the plains, and we shall surely be stronger than they." Benhadad tried the experiment. He lost a hundred thousand men; and a wall of the city of Apek, to which they fled for safety, crushed to death twenty-seven thousand more by falling on them. These defeats humbled the pride of Benhadad; he sued for peace to Ahab; and the two kings became such friends, that they rode together in the same chariot. But they quarreled again, and a great battle was fought, the issue of which was indecisive.

Naaman.

The general who commanded in this expedition was named Naaman. He was afflicted with the leprosy; and a young Israelitish girl, whom he had made prisoner, advised him to have recourse to Elisha the prophet of Israel. He applied to him; and the prophet not only

restored his body to health, but his soul likewise, by initiating him into the faith and worship of the one only God. The fame of Elifha, as a man favoured by God, and from whom nothing was concealed, was spread through the court of Benhadad. That prince having projected another expedition against the Jews, the secret of which had transpired, was persuaded it must be this wonderful man who had discovered his design; he therefore sent soldiers to take him and bring him to him. They arrived by night: but the sun did not rise to them; for they were smitten with blindness, and led, without perceiving whither they were going, into the midst of the city of Samaria, where their sight returned to them, and they saw with astonishment their situation. The Samaritans, however, though they had so much reason to complain of the virulent enmity of the king of Syria, did not treat them as prisoners, but sent them home in perfect safety.

Notwithstanding this act of generosity, Benhadad returned to the attack of Samaria once more; but it was the last time: Hazael, one of his generals, deprived him both of the crown and his life. Hazael retained the same animosity against the Jews as his predecessor; since he took and pillaged Jerusalem, and subjugated Israel and Judah. He likewise, by the taking of Elath, formed a great establishment on the

Red Sea. Under Hazael, Syria arrived at the summit of its power.

Rezin,
2063.

Benhadad II. his son, lost all his father had gained, and became tributary to the Jews. Rezin effaced this stigma, and impressed it, in his turn, on Israel. Such cruel reprisals nations exercise against each other, without reflecting that they necessarily lead to their mutual destruction. These two rival states passed together, as we shall see, under the yoke of the Assyrians.

Kings of
Hamath and
Geshur.
1969, and
1988.

We scarcely know the situation of the two small kingdoms of Hamath and Geshur. All their importance was derived from their alliance with more considerable kingdoms. Thus the last king of Geshur strengthened himself by giving his daughter, Talmi, in marriage to David; and when the protecting states were overthrown by the Assyrians, those they protected were buried beneath their ruins.

PHENICIANS.

Phœnicia,
situated be-
tween Sy-
ria, the
kingdom of
Judah, and
the Medi-
terranean.

The name of Phœnicia, or more properly Phœnice, and those of Tyre and Sidon, the principal cities of that country, present to the mind the idea of one of the most commercial countries in the world. If we except the foreigners attracted thither by commerce, we shall only find a people not very numerous, who were, perhaps, originally fugitives from Canaan,

Origin of
the Phœni-
cians.

strengthened by alliances with Syrian or Egyptian families, scattered over a fertile tract of land stretching along the coast of the Mediterranean.

The cities of Phœnice, overstocked with inhabitants, were obliged, on several occasions, to reduce their excessive population, by sending out colonies. From the coasts of the Mediterranean, they extended themselves to the straits of Gibraltar, which they passed, and discovered the British isles. Their situation was peculiarly favourable to their commercial speculations. The sea washed their coasts; the forests of Lebanon furnished them in abundance with the wood proper for building ships. Sails, cordage, and every thing necessary for rigging them, they easily obtained from Egypt. Their harbours were numerous, secure, and spacious; and from them they sent forth fleets loaded not only with the fabrications of their manufactures, but with the productions of the east and the south, which they brought from Syria, and conveyed to every part of Greece, and even the countries beyond; so that for several ages they were the factors of the west, and the bond of connection between the three quarters of the world.

The Phœnicians not only possessed the industry and artifices of commerce, but likewise its jealousy. When they were sometimes followed by competitors who endeavoured to dis-

Manners
and customs.

cover the places to which they resorted, they would not only take a false course to avoid them, but even sail into stormy seas, and such as were full of rocks and shoals, at the hazard of their destruction, in order to procure that of their rivals. They would even, when they were no longer in danger of being discovered, attack the ships of these curious observers, murder the crews, and sink the vessels, to prevent their commercial connexions from being made known.

The cities of this small country were as famous as kingdoms in others. Tyre and Sidon possessed a great celebrity of this kind. In these opulent cities were cultivated, with success, philosophy, rhetoric, and all those sciences which require undisturbed tranquillity, and a certain ease of circumstances. The wants of commerce brought to perfection arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. Workmen of every kind, sculptors, painters, builders, carpenters, and architects, abounded. Great monarchs, when they wished to erect sumptuous edifices, or splendid monuments, had recourse to the kings of this small country. Thus Solomon having resolved to build a magnificent temple at Jerusalem, applied for workmen and directors of their works to Hiram, king of Tyre.

It is an observation which will frequently present itself, that those cities in which the sciences flourished, and knowledge was cultivated, and

which consequently ought to have been the asylum of wisdom and morals, were, on the contrary, almost always the vortex of error, and the sink of corruption. We cannot but be astonished that the Phœnicians, who had received from the patriarchs, their fathers, the knowledge of the true God, should so soon have adopted the idolatry of the Syrians, their neighbours, by worshipping the sun under the name of Baal, the moon under that of Astarte, and under that of Moloch, fire, to which they consigned human victims.

But a superstitious rite which was peculiar to them, was the celebration of the festival of Thammuz, or Adonis. Adonis was a young man of singular beauty, whose favour was courted by two rival goddesses, Venus and Diana. The former prevailed over the latter, who in a fit of jealous rage caused the object of their passion to be killed by a wild boar. These amours, and their fatal catastrophe, were celebrated by the Phœnicians, both men and women, with all the refinements of debauchery. In memory of the grief of Venus, for the loss of her lover, the women were obliged, on the day of the festival, to consecrate their hair on the altar of the temple; unless they were willing to redeem it by an entire compliance, in the same temple, with the wishes of those who might present themselves.

A natural phænomenon contributed to preserve this custom. Every year, at the same season, the river called Adonis appeared of the colour of blood, because then its waters, swelled by the melting of the snows of Lebanon, rose to the red lands, which they washed, and assumed their hue. The people believed this was the effect of the blood which flowed from the wound of Adonis; and this belief perpetuated the superstition.

It appears likewise, that the Phœnicians were acquainted with the gods adored in Greece, even under the Grecian names, Jupiter, Mars, Neptune, Pluto, and others. The adventures which they related of them had a great resemblance to those the Egyptians ascribed to their gods under other names. This similitude has given occasion to some laborious writers to suppose a derivation and connexion in these idolatries. It is, however, probable, that among the Phœnicians, who were merchants, travellers, and mariners, every kind of superstitious belief and practice was to be found.

Tyre, Sidon,
Tripoli.

Tyre and Sidon are celebrated for their manufactures; the elegance of their works in wood, iron, gold, silver, brass, and other metals; and for the whiteness and fineness of the linen they fabricated. It is believed that glass was invented by the inhabitants of Tyre. On its coast was found a small shell-fish, which yielded a

purple dye ; but which is now no longer met with. Tyre was built first on the main land ; afterwards on an island opposite ; and, lastly, on that same island become a peninsula by a dyke, on which houses were erected. It appears by what remains of its ruins, which are not very magnificent, that its inhabitants, knowing as merchants the advantages of œconomy, studied utility more than splendor in their buildings. It may likewise be possible, that the narrow limits of their ground did not permit them to erect spacious and sumptuous edifices. On the side towards Sidon we still find remains of magnificence common to both cities ; among others, a vast cistern, from which water, after having supplied Sidon, was conveyed to Tyre by canals formed in the dyke. When Tyre was removed to the island, these two cities, and a third named Aradus, were so near, that Tripoli (a name given to it to signify the junction of three cities) covers the ground they occupied in such a manner, that it cannot be said to stand more on the site of the one than that of the other.

Sidon, situated at a little distance from the sea, was, no doubt, the residence of the grandees, while Tyre was that of the merchants. The latter had two harbours, one for winter, and the other for summer ; or, rather, by the favourable inflexion of the coast, the harbour might be en-

tered, or failed out of, in every season. The cities of Phœnicia were not confined to the three we have mentioned; the heaps of ruins found in different places, prove the existence of cities in a much greater number than a country so small could ever have maintained, had it not been supported and enlivened by commerce.

Kings.

Some of these cities were republics, and others governed by kings. Of the latter, fabulous history names as the first Agenor and Phœnix, from whom the country of Phœnicie took its name. Cadmus, by the command of his father Agenor, went to seek his sister Europa in Greece, where he discovered treasures, and founded kingdoms. This, no doubt, has a reference to the expeditions of maritime commerce.

Kings of Sidon.

The first king of Sidon, was Sidon the son of Canaan. After him there is a very long chasm to Tetramnestus, who furnished three hundred gallies to Xerxes for his expedition against Greece; but whether as an ally or tributary we know not. Under Tennes, his successor, however, the Sidonians had become subject to the Persians, and revolted. Darius Ochus marched against them with all his forces, determined to subjugate or destroy them. After having made a valiant defence, they proposed to surrender on conditions; but there were traitors among them, and the king himself abandoned his subjects. Those to whom they

had deputed to the camp of the Persians to conclude the treaty were inhumanly massacred. The enemy entered the city; the gates of which were given up to them, by the connivance of the king, who remained with the Persians; and the wretched inhabitants, reduced to despair, shut themselves up with their wives and children in their houses, which they set fire to, and buried themselves under the ruins of their country. Nothing remained to Darius but the ashes, in which, however, he found great riches, both in melted metals, and valuable effects that had escaped the flames. The feeble king, who had abandoned his people, gained nothing by his cowardice, for the conqueror, who despised him, put him to death.

Some Sidonian families had escaped in their ships from the cruelty of Darius. After his departure they returned to the smoking ruins of their city, which they rebuilt; but they could not restore it to its former splendor. They ever after retained so implacable a hatred to the Persians, that when Alexander made war on the latter, and presented himself before Sidon, the inhabitants of that city opened their gates to him, in despite of their king Strato, who did not wish to receive a new yoke. Alexander placed on the throne in his stead a man who, by his wisdom and virtue, had acquired, without seeking it, the esteem of all his fellow-citizens. He was named Abdalonimus. The persons deputed by the conqueror to carry him the crown found

Abdalonimus.

him working in his garden. The sceptre in his hand caused the kingdom to flourish, as the spade, when he wielded it, had bestowed fertility on his garden. He rendered his people happy, and justified the choice of Alexander.

Kings of
Tyre, Abi-
bal, Hiram,
1984.

The first king of Tyre of whom we have any certain knowledge is Abibal, the predecessor of Hiram. The latter is well known by his connections with Solomon, whom he furnished with wood from Lebanon for the building of the temple at Jerusalem, and for fitting out his fleets. These two kings proposed to each other enigmas to be resolved; a species of mental exertion in much esteem among the ancients.

Pygmalion.

We are acquainted with little more than the names of the kings who succeeded to Pygmalion. The latter has left behind him the character of an ambitious prince, who murdered his brother-in-law to obtain his treasures, which, however, Dido, his widow, concealed from her brother, and carried away in ships. She was accompanied by a number of adventurers, who wandered with her over the waves, and landed on several coasts, whence they carried off provisions, and even women. At last, finding themselves well received by the inhabitants of Utica, a Tyrian colony, on the coast of Africa, they founded Carthage in its vicinity.

Baal, 2420.

The Tyrians having excited the jealousy of the neighbouring monarchs, suffered two sieges, one of five, and another of thirteen years, during the reigns

of kings but little known ; and at length a third by Nabuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar. After an obstinate resistance, the Tyrians put to sea in their vessels, and abandoned to the conqueror their empty houses, on which he wreaked his vengeance by destroying them.

Tyre at first stood on the shore of the main land. Strato. The Tyrians rebuilt it on a small island, at a little distance from its former site, and fortified it in such a manner as to render it almost impregnable. They made trial of a government by magistrates named *suffetes*, or judges, but afterwards returned to royalty.

Four kings reigned in obscurity. Under the last of these, or during an interregnum, the slaves, who were very numerous at Tyre, murdered their masters, seized on all their riches, and married their widows and daughters. They afterwards resolved to choose themselves a king ; but their chiefs, when assembled, not being able to agree in the object of their choice, at length determined that he who should first perceive the rising sun the next morning, should be proclaimed king, as the most favoured by the gods. It happened that one of them had saved the life of his master Strato, by whom he had always been treated with humanity ; and to him the slave related the result of their deliberation. “ No doubt,” said Strato, “ they will all look towards the east ; but “ do you turn your eyes towards the west, and fix “ them on the highest tower, in the most elevated

“ part of the city, and you will first perceive the
“ rays of the sun illuminating its summits.” The
advice was followed, and succeeded. The slaves
were greatly astonished; and conceiving that so
much sagacity exceeded the bounds of their ordi-
nary capacity, required their companion to inform
them from whom he had learned the expedient.
He confessed that it was from Strato his master,
whom he had preserved, together with his son, in
gratitude for the kind treatment he had received
from him. The slaves considering Strato as a man
who had been preserved by the particular provi-
dence of the gods proclaimed him king.

Azelmic,
taking of
Tyre, 2667.

His son succeeded him, and the sceptre passed into
the hands of his descendants, of whom the last was
named Azelmic. During his reign, Alexander
came, as he said, to revenge the injury done by the
slaves to their masters more than two hundred years
before. Any pretext is sufficient with a conqueror;
but he found men whom his victories had not ter-
rified, and who were firmly resolved to defend them-
selves. That they might remain inflexible in their
resolution, and not swerve from it through tender-
ness, they sent their wives and children to Carthage.
Their walls were strong, well provided with offen-
sive and defensive machines; they were surrounded
by the sea, and protected by a fleet.

After a number of unsuccessful assaults, Alexan-
der was convinced that he could employ but one
efficacious mode of attack against an island, which

was to join it to the main land. He therefore began the laborious work of carrying a dyke or mole across the sea. Then was it that the courage and industry of the besiegers were fully displayed. Their divers dispersed the stones that had been thrown into the sea, and by the assistance of their boats they tore away the trees and beams which had been driven in to fix the blocks of stone. The work nevertheless advanced, and soon it was necessary to come to close engagement. In this extremity, there were no means to which the besieged had not recourse. They drove off the assailants with flaming darts, or caught them with long hooks, and dashed them down between the mole and the city. From the top of their walls, they poured on them boiling oil and burning sand, which entering between the joints of their armour, burnt them alive, and extorted from them the most dreadful cries.

The siege lasted seven months. Alexander at last carried the place sword in hand, and entered it an enraged conqueror. He put two thousand of the Tyrians to the sword, and crucified two thousand along the walls. "They are," said he, "a race of slaves, and deserve the disgraceful punishment of slaves." To give an air of justice to a cruelty which was merely the effect of revenge for the losses he had suffered during the siege, he spared the descendants of Strato. What remained of Tyre, Alexander demolished, and built a new

city on its ruins, of which he stiled himself the founder.

Kings of
Arad.
Gerostratus.

The conqueror experienced, if not resistance, at least hostile intentions on the part of Gerostratus, the third king of Arad, a small country, of which Aradus, the capital, situated in an island, was the whole strength. Gerostratus wished to remain faithful to his alliance with Darius; but his son gave up all the strong places of the country. The father thought it most for his interest to approve, seemingly at least, what his son had done, and make his submission to Alexander, who was willing to accept as voluntary what was in reality the effect of necessity. Phoenice afterwards came under the government of the generals of Alexander.

THE JEWS.

Jews.

Returning from the sea-coast, we arrive at the land of Judea, composed of the countries which we have already described in treating of the different nations of Canaan.

Abraham,
1076.

The Jews claim for their father Abraham, the son of Terah, the tenth in lineal descent from Shem, the son of Noah, of whom Moses has given us the genealogy. The descendants of Shem spread themselves from Armenia, where the ark is supposed to have rested, to Mesopotamia, and thence into Chaldaea, where Abraham was born. As he was to be the parent-stock of a great people, God separated him from the other descendants of Shem, by causing

Terah to leave Chaldea, and remove with his son into the country of Haram, near Mesopotamia, where he died. Abraham intended likewise to take up his abode there, but the divine will, of which he was informed by inspiration, conducted him into the land of Canaan, which was to be the inheritance of his children.

From this period commences a long series of events related in the sacred books of the Jews, and represented as immediately directed by the hand of God. Those who refuse to acknowledge the divine influence in the facts of which we are about to give a succinct history, object that there were few ancient nations who did not believe themselves established by miracles, and imagine their founders, or first legislators, to have had an immediate intercourse or connection with the Divinity. In consequence of this persuasion, however wonderful the facts may be which are contained in their annals, they consider them as the sacred depositories of truth. If, therefore, say they, the miracles with which other ancient chronicles are filled, prevent our belief of them, why should we grant it to the Hebrew records, which have the same defect?

Inspiration
of the sacred
books.

The answer of the Jews to this objection is found, they tell us, in the history itself. Not confined to the relation of past events, the sacred books foretel future. They predict the fate of empires many ages before the event; point out the time of their rise and fall; devote to complete and eternal destruc-

tion the most flourishing cities in the moment of their brightest splendor : as of the great and sumptuous Babylon, of which even the site, according to the menace of the prophet, is sought in vain. They called Cyrus by his name before he existed ; and foretold with equal certainty the victories and disasters of Nebuchadnezzar. In fine, the sacred writers describe, long before they happened, as if they were present to their eyes, the calamities destined to the nations who were enemies to the chosen people, and the merited misfortunes which were to punish that same people.

Whence then, add both the Jewish and Christian theologians, did these authors derive their pre-science, if not from him to whom the future is as the present and the past ? Now it is contrary to all probability, that men who had received such communications from the Supreme Being, and were chosen to be his organs, should have given to the world as truth a tissue of falsehoods. However extraordinary, therefore, these facts or these motives may appear, though their possibility or their justice may seem irreconcilable to our ideas, since historians, whose veracity admits of no doubt, relate these facts and their motives as inspired, commanded, and directed by the Author of nature, who can change the laws he has created ; they ought to be received with sincere conviction, without explanation or comment, as if they required an apology. It may be observed as a merit in this history, which

must be allowed, even by those who deny its divine inspiration, that it alone, among all the ancient annals, informs us accurately of the formation, progress, and various vicissitudes of a nation during a long series of ages. Hence we shall enter into particulars relative to the affairs of the Jewish people, which a frequent interruption in the succession of facts will prevent us from in the history of other nations.

The first care of Abraham, after he arrived in the land of Canaan, was to erect an altar to the true God, who appeared to him, and confirmed the promise he had before made to him, to give that land to his children. A great famine compelled him to remove into Egypt, where the beauty of his wife Sarah, the daughter of his uncle, exposed him to some danger from Pharaoh, the king of that country. He had agreed with her that he would call her his sister, lest the king should cause him to be dispatched, if he knew him to be her husband, to procure her for himself. In fact, Pharaoh believing Sarah to be the sister and not the wife of Abraham, wished to add her to the number of his wives; but God informed him of the crime he was about to commit, and he refrained from it. The famine ceased, and Abraham returned into Canaan. As he had no children, and expected none from Sarah, who was now much advanced in years, he proposed to bestow all his wealth on Eliezer, his principal domestic. Sarah, wishing at least to see

Journey
of Abraham.

an heir to her husband, proposed to him to take Hagar his servant. He did so, and by her had a son named Ishmael. Sarah likewise became a mother, and brought forth Isaac, whom his father circumcised. Abraham having himself undergone the operation of circumcision by command of God, imposed the obligation of it on all his posterity, as an indelible sign of the covenant contracted with him by the Divine Being.

Isaac and
Ishmael,
1101.

A misunderstanding taking place between the two mothers, Abraham was obliged to send away Hagar and her son, who took their way towards the desert. Ishmael there became the father of the Arabs, a nation who, according to the promise made to Abraham, never were subjected. He kept with him the son of the free woman, Isaac, the object of his tenderest affection, on whom rested all the blessings promised to the Jewish people, of which he was to be the father.

Sacifice of
Isa c.

The faith of Abraham in the promises relative to Isaac and his descendants was put to a severe proof. God commanded him to sacrifice this beloved child. Without complaining, without a murmur, though his heart was rent with the most distressing feelings, Abraham laid on his son the wood that was to form the pile on which he was to be consumed, and they went both of them together. When arrived at the place he bound the innocent victim, but when he was about to strike the fatal blow, an angel prevented him; and God, satisfied with his obedience,

confirmed to him with an oath the promises he had before made. After this, Sarah died, and the patriarch espoused Keturah, by whom he had six children. To these, he allotted certain portions of his property in such a manner that they had nothing to claim from Isaac. They likewise took their way towards Arabia, and were intermingled with the children of Ishmael.

The marriage of Isaac, the fruit of which was to be a sacred nation, required precautions. Abraham, therefore, wished to give him a maiden of his own family, and with this view sent his servant Eliezer into his native country, whence he brought to him Rebecca, the daughter of his brother-in-law. She comforted the old age of Abraham, but did not become a mother till after his death.

Marriage of
Isaac.

Jacob and Esau, two twins of which she was delivered, had given proofs, even in their mother's womb, of the animosity which was to subsist between them. Esau was the first-born, but he afterwards sold his birth-right to Jacob; and this cession was the source of discord between the two brothers, because to the birth-right of the elder was attached the possession of all the advantages promised to Abraham; and among others that of being the head and father of a people among whom should be born the Messiah, who should extend his kingdom over the whole earth.

Jacob and
Esau, 1152.

The hatred of Esau obliged Jacob to seek an asylum in the family of his mother Rebecca. In

Jacob and
Rachel,
1239.

the house of his uncle Laban he found two cousins, of whom Rachel, the younger, won his heart. He asked her in marriage. By an artifice of Laban, who wished to marry the elder first, he found himself the wife of Leah, and did not obtain the object of his wishes till after fourteen years' perseverance; during the greater part of which time his labour was employed for the profit of his father-in-law.

Their children.

In the house of Laban were born, of the two wives and their handmaids, the ten sons of Jacob who became fathers of tribes, and one daughter named Dinah. Among these, only two were the sons of Rachel, who, after a long barrenness, brought forth Joseph and Benjamin, the youngest of the ten. Joseph afterwards became the father of two children who completed the twelve tribes of Israel.

After a lapse of several years, which he had employed in accumulating a fund of wealth, Jacob was desirous to shew his father his numerous family; Laban, who found his stay with him greatly to his interest, wished to retain him; but his son-in-law eluded his vigilance, and departed. His father-in-law pursued and overtook him, but they came to an amicable accommodation, and Jacob continued his journey.

Meeting of Jacob and Esau.

Escaped from this danger, he was soon after exposed to a greater from Esau. Jacob, when he approached the habitation of Isaac his father, near

whom Esau dwelt, sent to make submission to the latter, but received no answer, and was soon informed that his brother was coming to meet him accompanied by an armed band. Their ancient enmity gave him sufficient reason to entertain apprehensions; but he found, to his great satisfaction, that friendship had induced Esau to come out to meet him. Jacob, as soon as he heard of the approach of his brother, had disposed his servants, women, and children, in two companies; and when Esau arrived, they were successively to lay the presents they bore at his feet. Esau, however, when he perceived Jacob, ran to meet him, and fell on his neck and kissed him. He likewise expressed a wish to accompany and escort him to their father; but Jacob, somewhat distrusting this reconciliation, excused himself from accepting his offer. Esau returned to Idumæa where he dwelt, and Jacob resided with Isaac in the land of Canaan, where his father died, and was buried by his two sons, who laid him in the tomb of Abraham. Esau returned into his adopted country, and Jacob, as enjoying the birth-right of the elder, took up his residence in the paternal domain.

He had not the satisfaction to bring hither his beloved Rachel; she had died before he reached his father; and Joseph and Benjamin remained the consolation of his old age. Several of his other sons occasioned him much affliction: Reuben defiled himself with an incestuous commerce with the

concubine of his own father; and Simeon and Levi, with atrocious revenge and perfidious barbarity, massacred all the males of a people who had confided in their word. Dan, Napthali, Ashur, and Judah, incurred the guilt of a crime, in their treatment of Joseph, which had an influence on the fortune of the whole family.

Joseph,
1284.

Jacob entertained for this son of Rachel a partiality which excited the jealousy of his other children. The tender age of Joseph prevented him from obviating the effects of this jealousy, and perhaps even from observing it. He related to them, in the presence of his father, two dreams. "I dreamed," said he, "that we were binding sheaves in the field, and lo! my sheaf arose, and stood upright, and behold your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf." He soon after had another. "Methought," said he, "the sun and the moon and the eleven stars made obeisance me." Jacob rebuked his son for the vanity which these dreams seemed to indicate. His brethren however were not content with this rebuke, but concerted a plan of vengeance; and seeing him one day coming to them from their father, in the desert where they kept their cattle, they said one to another: "Here is this dreamer coming, let us slay him, and cast him into some pit, and say that a wild beast has devoured him."

They were about to carry their cruel purpose into execution, when Reuben prevented them, re-

presenting to them what a horrid act it was to shed the blood of their brother, and advising them to let him down into a dry pit, where he must soon perish with hunger. His design was to draw him out when they should be gone, and carry him home. A caravan of Ishmaelite merchants, however, chancing to pass by, the brothers of Joseph drew him out of the pit, and sold him. To prevent Jacob from entertaining any suspicion of the crime they had committed, they sent a remnant of his garment which they had dipped in blood, insinuating that he must have been devoured by wild beasts. The unhappy father believed the suggestion, and transferred the affection he had shared between the two children of Rachel to Benjamin alone, without, however, ceasing to regret the loss of Joseph.

The merchants carried their slave into Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, a chief officer of the crown. His master found him possessed of such extraordinary abilities that he confided to him the care of his domestic affairs; while his mistress too much admired his personal qualities. She wished to seduce him, he refused; she persisted, and he fled: she endeavoured to hold him by the sleeve of his garment, and it remained in her hand. This, which was the proof of Joseph's innocence, became, in the hands of this vindictive woman, the evidence of his guilt. She accused him of having offered vio-

Joseph in
Egypt.

lence to her: his master believed her, and threw his slave into the royal prison.

He here found the chief butler and chief baker of the king, confined in consequence of being accused of some crimes, and waiting their trial. In this situation, it was not surprizing that their thoughts, during their sleep, should be employed on their approaching fate. They dreamed dreams, which they communicated to Joseph, who interpreted them; predicting to the baker that he should suffer death, and to the butler that he should be restored to his office: both which events came to pass as he foretold.

We may observe in this history the opinion prevalent in those times, that dreams were inspirations relative to future events. Pharaoh, king of Egypt, likewise dreamed, and after he awaked his dreams occasioned him great disquiet of mind. All the sages of Egypt were called on to explain them, but none of them were able. The perplexity of the king brought to the recollection of the chief butler the interpreter of his dream when he was in prison. He was accordingly introduced to the king, who told him his dream. "I dreamed," said the king, "to stand
" on the bank of the river, and seven cows, fat-flesh-
" ed and well-favoured, came up out of the river and
" fed in a meadow. After them came up seven other
" cows, poor and very ill-favoured; and they ate
" up the first seven fat cows. I likewise dreamed
" that I saw seven ears of corn on one stalk, full

“ and good, which were devoured by seven other
 “ ears that were withered, thin, and blasted with
 “ the east-wind.” “ Prince,” replied Joseph, “ the
 “ seven fat cows and the seven full ears signify
 “ seven years of extraordinary plenty, which shall
 “ be followed by seven years of dreadful famine,
 “ represented by the seven lean cows and the seven
 “ thin ears. Thus the two dreams signify the
 “ same thing ; but the repetition of the prognostic
 “ announces that the event is certain, and shall
 “ soon come to pass. It appertains to your pru-
 “ dence, therefore, to chuse such a person as may
 “ be capable of taking the most effectual measures
 “ to prevent the calamities which must otherwise
 “ be expected to ensue from seven years of famine.”

In consequence of the testimonies the king had received of the understanding of Joseph, this choice was soon made. Pharaoh committed to him the whole management of his plan ; and the minister caused large magazines to be built, and appointed, in every province, commissaries to receive the fifth part of the wheat of each of the years of plenty to provide a stock against those of famine.

The famine which had been predicted took place, and was dreadful in its effects. It was felt principally by the neighbouring nations, who had been accustomed to procure their subsistence from Egypt. As for the Egyptians, by the aid of the reserve of corn in their granaries, they suffered but little, and were even able to derive money from

Joseph and
his brethren.

the sale of their grain to foreigners. Jacob, pressed like the rest of the inhabitants of Canaan by famine, knowing that corn might be purchased in Egypt, sent thither his ten sons to buy some.

Ten men who appear to be brothers naturally attract attention. Joseph was informed of their arrival, caused them to be brought before him, and recognized them. They requested corn of him for money, which they offered. He interrogated them, with an air of suspicion, relative to their country, their profession, and their family; and notwithstanding the simplicity and sincerity of their answers, assuming an air of dignity and authority: "You are," said he to them, "impostors, spies, who come to discover the weakness of the kingdom in order to attack it." "No," answered they, "we are neither spies nor traitors; but all brethren, and sons of the same father, with whom we have left a still younger brother to console him for the loss of one who is dead." "Well," replied the minister, "let one of you go and bring me this younger brother; while the rest of you remain as hostages." They could not refuse their consent to this proposal; and Joseph ordered them to be led to prison.

They remained there three days, during which time they reciprocally upbraided each other with their cruel treatment of their unhappy brother. "What has happened to us," said they, "is a just punishment of our crime." Joseph was informed

of what they said, and as a fraternal heart is easily softened, he thought them sufficiently punished, and had them again brought before him. "I am content," said he, "with a single hostage: let the others go. Do what I have required of you and live; for I fear God." The lot fell upon Simeon, and the rest set out on their journey. On opening their sacks to give provender to their beasts, each found his money among the corn. This occasioned them equal astonishment and perplexity. Was it done with a view to treat them as robbers, and to make slaves of them when they should return to redeem their hostage? After some consideration, having satisfied themselves with the means they had devised to prove their innocence, they judged it most adviseable not to return back, but continued their journey.

When they had reached home, and came before their father Jacob, it was first necessary to console him for the absence of Simeon; but this was not the greatest difficulty they had to surmount; they were likewise to prevail on him to part with Benjamin for a time? At the mention of this proposal, the good old man burst into tears. He recollected the loss of his beloved Joseph; and could not consent to part with the only remaining offspring of his dear Rachel. But at length the increasing pressure of famine, the entreaties of his children, the solemn engagement of Judah to bring back Benjamin with him, prevailed on the patriarch

to grant his consent, though with the utmost reluctance. He embraced his beloved son, pressed him in his arms, and most earnestly conjured his other sons, calling each by his name, to take the greatest care of their brother.

On their way, they discoursed together on the object and issue of their journey. They imagined they had only to make their appearance, prove they were not robbers by returning the money they had found in their sacks, shew Benjamin, deliver Simeon, load their beasts, and depart. They found their brother Simeon in good health, and extremely well satisfied with the manner in which he had been treated. The minister received them with courtesy and distinction, made them dine with him, and sent them dishes from his table. One circumstance particularly attracted their attention: the dishes were set before them, one after the other, not indiscriminately, or according to the places they occupied, but according to the age of each; and to Benjamin was presented a portion five times larger than that of the others.

After this observation, which gave them some disquietude, and after an affectionate parting with the minister, they set out on their return home. But they had not gone far before they found themselves pursued by a company of armed men, with the steward of the minister at their head, who charged them with stealing his master's cup. All with indignation denied the charge, and demanded that

their baggage might be searched ; but how great was their surprize when the cup was found in Benjamin's sack !

They were now brought as criminals before the minister. After some severe reproaches, "I might," said he, "condemn you all to slavery, but I will content myself with the guilty person ; let the rest return in peace to their father." At this terrible sentence, they all threw themselves at the feet of the minister, protesting the innocence of their younger brother ; and Judah especially, who had engaged for his safety, represented the severe affliction of his aged father, who must die with grief. He offered even to remain a slave himself in the place of Benjamin. He pressed, entreated, and conjured with so much earnestness, that Joseph could no longer suppress his feelings. He caused the Egyptians who surrounded him to retire, and when alone with his brethren, threw himself into their arms, exclaiming with a voice half-stifled with his tears—"I am Joseph your brother ; doth my father yet live?" These few words explained all the contrarieties in his conduct, in which the marks of his resentment only shewed more conspicuously his fraternal tenderness.

The report that the brothers of the minister had arrived, was soon spread through the court. The king wished to see them. He told Joseph to send for his family into Egypt, and to appoint them there a residence so agreeable that they might never be

tempted to regret the country they had left. This gracious order was accompanied with carriages to convey the women and children. Joseph added to these, presents of garments, perfumes, and other costly things, for each of his brethren and his father; and requested them to prevail on the good old man to come down into Egypt, and witness his elevation and prosperity.

The Israel-
ites in
Egypt.

Many words and repetitions must have been necessary for the brethren of Joseph, to make Jacob understand and believe all the wonders of their journey. At each new circumstance, the old man, with his eyes bathed in tears of joy, exclaimed: "It is enough! Joseph, my son is yet alive; I will go and see him before I die." His wish was accomplished: he was conveyed, with all his family, to Egypt. Joseph went to meet him, and assigned him a residence in the land of Goshen, a fertile country, proper for pasturage, between the Nile and the Red Sea. Thus the children of Jacob, separated from the rest of the posterity of Abraham, and that of Esau, were settled and multiplied in a country foreign to that which had been promised to them. They then abandoned a small part of that land, to which they were one day to return to possess the whole.

Death of
Jacob.

Jacob, at the time of his death, called his sons around his bed, and gave them his benediction. It contained a remarkable prediction of what should happen to each of the tribes of which they were to

be the fathers; their successes, misfortunes, connexions, disorders, and even their distinguishing characters. He likewise requested of them that his body might be carried to Canaan, to the sepulchre of his fathers. Joseph made him this promise, and performed it. Joseph, likewise, in his turn, required of his children to convey his body to the same sepulchre which had formerly been bought by Abraham; and the expression of this wish gave him an opportunity to foretel to the Israelites, in the most positive manner, that they would not remain in Egypt. Yet the promises of the king, the measures taken by Joseph for their security, the pastoral and patriarchal life which they continued to lead, and their rapid increase in numbers and strength, seemed to presage a permanent establishment secure from any revolution.

How imperfect soever our idea may be of the simple manners of the country the inhabitants of which have not their minds and bodies exhausted by excessive and forced labours, it will not be difficult to conceive the nature of the patriarchal life, the first mode of life of the Hebrews, and perhaps of every people. The care of cattle, hunting, husbandry, household occupations, and the duties of hospitality, divided their time, and caused their days to glide away without discontent or irksomeness. Paternal government maintained tranquillity in the families; the unity of divine worship collected them at stated times which became festival days; occa-

The patriarchal life.

sional meetings produced marriages, of which prudence contracted the bond, and a numerous progeny was the offspring. If to a long life, the reward of labour and frugality, we add the effect of polygamy, long authoris'd among the Hebrews, from the religious desire of having a number of children, we shall easily admit that it is possible, that in about a hundred and sixty years, twelve families should have increased to six hundred thousand fighting men, without including girls and women, males under twenty, or old men above sixty.

As little shall we be surprized that so great a multitude should have caused some apprehension and jealousy among the Egyptians : but since they had afforded a retreat in their country to the family of their ancient minister, they ought to have endeavoured to attach them to them by benefits ; or at least not to treat them in such a manner as might give them any just cause of complaint : or, in fine, if they were dissatisfied, to send them back into their former country, or any other in which they might wish to establish themselves. But, on the contrary, they wished to retain them as slaves. They had recourse to every kind of oppression, hard labours, exorbitant taxes, and the most insulting degradations, to depress and enfeeble this nation. Perceiving that the number of the Hebrews still continued to increase in such a manner as to render it necessary to guard against the effects of

their despair, Pharaoh, which appears to have been the general name of all the kings of Egypt, issued an edict, perhaps the most barbarous ever promulgated by any tyrant. He ordered, under pain of death, all the Egyptian midwives, when called by the Hebrew women, to kill all the male children; and all the Hebrew women who should be delivered by themselves, without the assistance of the Egyptian women, to kill with their own hands all their male children.

An Israelitish woman named Jochebed, of the tribe of Levi, had two children before the publication of this cruel edict. A third was born after it: she kept her son concealed three months; but at length, apprehensive that a search might be made which would be as fatal to herself as to her child, yet willing to spare herself the misery of seeing him expire before her eyes, she put him into a small ark, or box, and exposed him on the Nile, taking the precaution to place her daughter Miriam near, to see what became of the child. It chanced that the daughter of Pharaoh was walking on the bank of the river. She discovered the ark, caused it to be brought to her, opened it, and was greatly moved by the beauty and cries of the infant. She asked for a nurse for it, and Miriam, the sister, who only waited this order, went and fetched her mother. The princess thus, without knowing it, restored the child to the maternal bosom, took him afterwards to the palace, and conceived such an affection for

Moses,
1428.

him, that she caused him to be brought up under her own immediate inspection.

She gave him the name of Moses, which signifies one saved from the water. He was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians, promoted at court, and it is even said commanded armies. His mother had doubtless not neglected to inform him of the history of his birth and preservation. A natural attachment to his own nation inspired him with an aversion to its oppressors, of which he gave proofs, not only by the compassion he testified for the oppressed, but by violent reprisals. This boldness rendered him suspected, and he was obliged to fly and conceal himself in the country of Midian, at the residence of his father-in-law Jethro, where he remained forty years. It is believed that during this retirement he wrote the book of Job. In fact, the sublime ideas in this work, which is a species of poem, greatly resemble the majestic beauties found in the songs of which Moses is certainly the author.

It was at the end of this long retirement that God revealed to him his design to make use of him to deliver his people from the captivity in which they groaned. The Divine Being appeared to him, spoke to him, heard his objections, answered them with condescension, and overcame his repugnance with miracles. Moses, convinced of the certainty of his mission, set out for Egypt, and by the way found his brother Aaron, who, guided by divine inspiration, had come to meet him.

These two men having arrived in the country inhabited by the Hebrews, communicate to them the command of God, concert their measures, and present themselves before the king of Egypt. "We are sent," said they to him, "by the Lord God of Israel, who commands his people, under pain of the severest punishments, to go three days' journey into the desert to celebrate a festival in his honour, and offer unto him sacrifices." But Pharaoh answered, "I know not your God, and I defy his anger." To prove more evidently his contempt of this command, he oppressed the Hebrews with additional labour. The latter, who, relying on the word of Moses, now expected a speedy deliverance, broke out into murmurs and complaints. Moses had recourse to the Lord. "Present yourselves again before him," said God, "I will give you the power to work such miracles as shall at last convince his incredulity."

The Hebrews come out of Egypt, 1508.

Endowed with the power of commanding nature, and enforcing obedience, Moses threw down his staff before the king, and it became a serpent. He struck with it the waters of the Nile, and they were turned into blood. He struck them again, and an immense multitude of frogs was spread over the whole face of the kingdom, and filled the houses. The magicians of Pharaoh imitated these prodigies, and their arts hardened the king in his obstinacy. He, however, promised to let the Israelites go; but retracted his word, and renewed his promise, as the

plagues ceased and recommenced. Moses inflicted a variety of them. He caused to be produced swarms of insects, as thick as the dust of the field, which tormented both man and beast. He filled the air with flies which spoiled and corrupted every thing they approached. The cattle were smitten with a grievous murrain, and all the cattle of Egypt died. The men were covered with fetid and dangerous ulcers. The heavens were obscured with clouds that poured forth torrents of rain and hail, while lightnings and thunder filled every heart with dismay, All Egypt was laid waste, and the little verdure which remained became the prey of locusts, who came at the call of Moses. During several days this unhappy country was enveloped in a darkness so thick, that there seemed reason to fear the sun had disappeared for ever; while at the same time there was light in the land of Goshen, which was entirely exempt from all these plagues.

The last terrible prodigy remained, of which Moses informed the king, at the same time directing the Israelites to be ready to depart at the moment this last thunderbolt should fall upon the Egyptians. In the same night the destroying angel smote all the first-born of Egypt, from the eldest son of the monarch on the throne to the offspring of the meanest of his subjects, so that there was a general mourning throughout the land of Egypt. The Israelites took advantage of this circumstance to leave Egypt. But Moses first caused them

to celebrate a repast, which they called the *Pass-over*, or the *passing over of the Lord*. They received a command to repeat it every year in the dress of travellers, with a white staff in their hands, and their long garments girt round their loins, that they might be prepared for walking. At the moment of their departure, no infirm or sick persons were found among them. The aged were inspired with new strength to fly from their oppressors. They carried with them a variety of valuable things, which they had borrowed from the Egyptians, under pretence of rendering more sumptuous the festival which they were about to celebrate in the desert.

Through this desert they took their way under the guidance of Moses. Then began the series of miracles which God incessantly wrought to protect or chastise his chosen people according to their deserts. The first was a pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night, which went before them, covering them with its shade, and lighting them on their way, and by its motion directing them when to set out, and when to encamp. Beneath this ægis the Israelites were calmly proceeding, when they heard behind them the noise of a great army pursuing them; while before them were the waves of the Red Sea. They were seized with a panic, and surrounding Moses: "Was it," said they, "because there were no graves in Egypt, that thou hast taken us away to die in the wilderness, or

Passage of
the Red Sea.

“ be swallowed up by the waters ? ” Moses made them no answer, but stretching forth his rod, smote with it the sea, which divided, and the Israelites passed over on dry ground. The Egyptians attempted to follow them, but Moses again stretched out his formidable rod, when the waters returned, and men, horses, chariots, all were swallowed up. The waves threw the dead bodies upon the shore, and their spoils supplied the Israelites with arms.

The Israelites in the Desert.

They were now, to the number of nearly three millions of persons, in a desert, without provisions, without human resource, and entirely dependent on the care of Providence, which never failed them, notwithstanding all their distrust and murmurs. Their principal want was a supply of food ; and for this God provided. Every morning, manna, a species of condensed and substantial dew, fell around the camp. They grew weary of this, and God sent them clouds of quails, which suffered themselves to be easily taken. When they wanted water, Moses struck the rocks, and they poured forth abundantly. When it was bitter, he rendered it sweet ; and the cloud, alternately luminous and dark, preserved them, during their march, from the heat of the sun by day, and gave them light by night.

The law given at Mount Sinai, 1490.

They made some indecisive expeditions against the nations on the frontiers of the desert, which they endeavoured to get out of, but the hand of God continually drew them back into it. The

same power led them to the foot of Mount Sinai, rendered celebrated by the law given to the Jews. They were directed to prepare themselves to receive it, to observe attentively what passed, but to keep at a reverential distance. Moses alone might approach the mountain, where he had several conversations with the Lord. On the day appointed, the summit of the mountain was covered with a cloud, from which lightening and flames issued. Thunder rolled, trumpets sounded, the earth shook, and a voice distinctly pronounced the decalogue, or ten commandments, which contain a complete summary of morality. Moses remained several days on the mountain, and brought down with him the law, engraven by the finger of God, on two tables of stone. As he was coming down, he heard laughter, singing, and the noise of a multitude who gave themselves up to licentious joy. What did he see on a nearer approach? The people dancing round a golden calf. The women and maidens had given their ornaments to make this god; and Aaron was guilty of the criminal compliance of casting it for them. Moses, violently enraged, exclaimed in the transports of his zeal: "Who is on the Lord's side?" The tribe of Levi offered themselves, put to death a great number of the guilty, and by that merited the priesthood; but the high-priesthood remained in the family of Aaron. The people afterwards repented of their idolatry, and God pardoned them.

The ark of
the cove-
nant.

Moses afterwards employed himself in procuring to be made the ark, in which were to be placed the tables that were given after the breaking of the first, and the tabernacle which was to receive the ark. All the dimensions and ornaments of these had been appointed by God, in the conversations he had with Moses on the mount. Able workmen were selected; and the Israelites gave without hesitation such gold and silver ornaments and stuffs which they possessed as were proper not only for the ark, but also for the sacerdotal habits and sacred utensils. The time of their stay in the desert was likewise employed to establish the general government, the police of the tribes and families, to fix the festivals, regulate the religious ceremonies, and inure the people to war by incursions into the country they were one day to possess. By the people, is to be understood that part of them who were destined to enter this country; for all who were more than twenty years of age when they came out of Egypt were denied this happiness, as a punishment for their murmurings and frequent rebellions. Moses himself was not exempt from this chastisement, for, having hesitated in an act which God had commanded him to perform, he was only permitted to see the promised land from the summit of a mountain.

Joshua and Caleb alone escaped this proscription. They had been sent, with ten others, one from each tribe, to examine the soil and productions of the

land of Canaan, of which they made an advantageous report, and such as might encourage the people. The others who went with them gave so unfavourable a description of the country promised to the Israelites, that the people rose against Moses. It was again necessary to have recourse to punishment, which usually was the death of the guilty. The sword of the Amalekites chastised some. The earth swallowed up Korah, and a preternatural fire consumed Dathan and Abiram, the sacrilegious profaners of the priesthood. Fiery serpents punished other rebels: but the sight of the brazen serpent which Moses set up healed those who looked upon it. The zeal of Phineas punished with death the idolatrous Zimri: but this chastisement did not prevent the Hebrews from prostituting their religion to their passion for strange women, and the adoration of false gods. Moses, now ready to be taken from them, severely reproached them with this fatal propensity, and uttered terrible menaces against them if they persisted in it.

Death of
Moses.

He likewise caused them to renew their covenant with God, and swear to keep it faithfully. He named for his successor Joshua, who had already distinguished himself in several expeditions. He afterwards sang a song of thanksgiving, in which he recounts in a pathetic and affecting manner the blessings bestowed by God on Israel, and puts up prayers for their prosperity. After having given his be-

nediction to the people, who notwithstanding their frequent apostasies were ever dear to him, the holy legislator retired to Mount Nebo, whence he again saw the promised land. The chiefs of the twelve tribes accompanied; and while they were taking their last tender farewell, he escaped from their arms, and disappeared.

Joshua,
1548.

Joshua united in himself both the military and civil government. The administration of justice appertained to the Levites, and the people were divided into tribes, decuries or tens, and families. This division contributed to a prompt and regular order in their marches and encampments. Every one had his fixed post in the van, the rear, or on the side of the ark, which was always in the centre; and in their battles and retreats, the same order was observed as exactly as possible.

In fine, after forty years of marchings, direct, circular, and retrograde, it was requisite to make a serious attack on the promised land. Joshua reconnoitred it. When he made his report on the state of the country, while he encouraged hope, he did not dissemble the difficulty of its conquest. It was to be supposed that the inhabitants of the land of Canaan could not see without disquiet and alarm, a people so long wandering on their frontiers, with no other resource than to invade them. Several desperate battles had already taken place between them, which were always followed by scenes of horror. Each party slaughtered the other without

pity; because the invaders exterminated the inhabitants to establish themselves, and the inhabitants exterminated the invaders to preserve their possessions. The same destructive fury prevailed during the whole time of the conquest.

Joshua began his invasion by a solemn ceremony. The whole people had orders to purify themselves for the passage of the Jordan. On the day appointed they were ranged, as in their usual marches, around the ark, which was borne by the Levites. As soon as the feet of the bearers touched the water, it rose up in a heap, as in the Red Sea, and left a dry road. They stopped in the middle of the river, till all the people had passed over. A deputy from each tribe then placed a large stone on the spot where the ark had stood: they likewise took one each from the bed of the river, which they piled upon the bank as a memorial.

Passage of
the Jordan.

From this time, the cloud that had guided them disappeared. Joshua made the division of the country they were about to conquer, and assigned to each tribe its portion. This distribution must have inspired with a singular ardour, not only the whole nation, but each individual, since there was not one among them who, on viewing a field, a house, or any other property, might not say: "That is mine, and he who occupies it is an usurper."—On the other hand, the inhabitants might say: "We have cleared these

“ lands, planted these trees, built these opulent cities, their towers and walls.” What courage in the attack, what perseverance in the defence must not these reflexions produce ! Notwithstanding the six hundred thousand fighting men with which the Israelites attacked these warlike nations, who defended their wives, their children, and all that could be dear to them in the world, it is probable they would not have succeeded had they not been supported by a supernatural power.

This was signally evinced in their first enterprize, which was directed against Jericho, a considerable city. It was delivered into the hands of the Israelites by a miracle. They were commanded to carry the ark in solemn procession seven times round the walls. At the seventh time the Levites sounded their trumpets, and the soldiers gave a general shout ; when the walls and towers all fell down, and the whole army entered and put all the inhabitants to the sword, except one woman, who had lodged their spies. On this occasion an example of most severe discipline was exhibited. An order had been published prohibiting any individual from appropriating to himself any part of the booty, that the courage of all might be equally animated by the hope of a general division. Achan, of the tribe of Judah, had concealed some valuable effects which he had intended for his own use ; but was discovered and stoned, as were also his wife, his

children, and his cattle. Two stupendous miracles afterwards signalized the commencement of their conquests.

The Gibeonites, a people not very numerous, had sought the alliance of the Israelites, less from affection than to avoid their fury. The kings of Canaan, who had united to defend themselves against the foreign invaders, were offended at the Gibeonites for withdrawing themselves from their league, and attacked them: Joshua hastened to their assistance, and found the confederate princes determined to conquer or die. A decisive battle ensued, which was long disputed, the Canaanites not being put to the rout till towards the close of the day. Joshua, fearful they should escape him by favour of the night, exclaimed, "Sun, stand thou still!" and the day was lengthened. He likewise called up a thick cloud, which, aided by a furious wind, discharged stones upon the fugitives. These two miraculous events spread consternation throughout the whole land of Canaan, and facilitated its conquest, which was completed in six years.

No country was ever subjected to so many successive divisions as the land of Canaan. Under its first inhabitants it contained kingdoms; under the Jews, tribes; under the Babylonian conquerors and others, provinces; under the Idumean kings, tetrarchies and toparchies, subject to the Romans; under the Mamelukes, scattered cities, without any connexion in their government; under the

New Canaan, or Judea; between the countries of Edom and Amalek, the Dead Sea, the Jordan, the Sea of Galilee, the Mountain of Libanus, the Phœnicians, and the Mediterranean.

Crusaders, one kingdom; and, lastly, under the Turks, if we except some maritime districts, it is almost uninhabited. It must be confessed the country of Canaan would have nothing remarkable, if it had not been the habitation of a people who placed their happiness in its possession, and who never speak of it but with transport; if it had not been the scene of the principal mysteries of our religion; and, lastly, if christian Europe by pouring forth its troops, at the time of the crusades, on this small part of Asia, had not rendered it famous. Its limits, and consequently its extent, have varied in different ages; and few of its parts have preserved their primitive names. As the tribe of Judah was the most numerous and warlike, the subdued nations were accustomed to call their conquerors Jews, and their country Judea.

Men who came out of a barren desert, in which themselves and their fathers had wandered during forty years, without any fixed habitation, must have esteemed themselves most fortunate when they had become well established in a country of a moderate temperature, well watered, especially fertile in wine and oil, and not deficient in the production of corn. It likewise produced honey, and aromatic plants, from which a precious balsam was procured. None of the necessities or even the superfluities of life were wanting. Yet at present this country only presents the image of sterility and

solitude; infomuch that feveral writers have confidered as exaggerated, and even false, the advantageous descriptions given of it in the facred volumes. Thefe critics do not reflect fufficiently on the fearful changes which calamities of every kind, endured during fo many ages, muft neceffarily produce even in countries the moft favoured by nature.

Notwithstanding, however, the prefent impoverished ftate of Judea, curiofity and devotion ftill lead thither chriftians to vifit the places confecrated by their religion. The ardent zeal of piety could alone enable them to fupport the dangers and fatigues of fuch a journey; bands of robbers infest the country, and the cities fubject to an oppreffive government no longer afford a fafe afylum. The greater part of them are reduced to ruinous villages. Jerufalem alone presents fome remains of noble edifices, which appear to have been the work, fome of the Jews, and others of the crufaders.

To give a faithful portrait of the manners and institutions of the Jews, we muft take it from the time of their prosperity, which followed their conquest of Canaan, while overawed by the miracles fo lately wrought in their favour, they forfook with fear and hesitation the law that had been given them; and when brought back by chaftisement, returned to it with zeal and confidence.

Religion,
government,
fcience,
commerce,
and military
art.

Every event had been provided for in the code of Moses, or rather in the code of God himself, and in the political and sacred institutions which are an ample commentary on that code. The laws most strictly enjoined were those relative to religion; the proscription of idolatry under all its forms; the indispensable obligation of circumcision; the observance of the sabbath, that is to say, a rigorous cessation from all labours, and absolute rest during one entire day of the week. The principal solemnities were the passover, instituted in memory of their coming out of Egypt; the pentecost, or the anniversary of the giving of the law at Mount Sinai; the feast of tabernacles, representative of their wandering forty years in the wilderness; the feast of trumpets, which announced the first day of the year, and of each month, or the new moons; and expiatory feasts or fasts, which reminded them of the crimes they had committed, their punishment, repentance, and pardon.

The sabbatic year and that of the jubilee, the former of which took place every seventh year, and the latter every forty-ninth, had similar obligations and privileges; they were not to sow, reap, or trade, but for the poor. In the year of jubilee, the Jewish slaves likewise regained their liberty, and those who during the space of these forty-nine years had alienated their property, were restored to the possession of it.

In this code the ritual laws alone form a very extensive article. They relate to the precautions necessary in the choice of victims; the ceremonies of the sacrifices; the service of the tabernacle and the temple; the habits of the priests and levites, their materials, form, and where they were to be kept. The occupations of these two orders are circumstantially detailed. Their revenues were their share of the sacrifices; the tithe, or tenth of every thing; and certain cities, with their territory, which were appropriated to them in each tribe.

Several civil laws made a part of their ecclesiastical, or at least depended on them by ceremonies, which, as we may say, rendered sacred their observance. We shall only mention the ceremony of the *waters of jealousy*. These were a beverage composed by the priests, and presented to a woman when brought before them by her husband, suspicious of her fidelity. These waters were death to the guilty, but rendered the innocent more healthy and more beautiful. There was not, in fact, a single action in the life of the Jews, which was not regulated by religion; their banquets, funerals, mourning, the employment of their time, their hours of rising and going to rest, their forms of politeness, and reciprocal civilities, were all under its direction.

The priests and levites were admitted among their judges, and with them pronounced the punishment annexed to theft, fraud, usury, deception; to er-

rors, as well as crimes. Murder was always punished with death. Every kind of violence was subjected to the law of retaliation. It does not appear, however, that marriage required the ministry of the priests, or divorce, their sanction. A function exclusively appertaining to them, and doubtless the least agreeable, was the inspection of the leprosy, a cutaneous malady unknown to us. The symptoms were equally terrifying and disgusting. It was the office of the priests to examine and declare whether the patients were affected with this disease; to sequester them from society, and restore them to it when cured.

The studies of the Jews were confined to the doctrines of religion, which, in fact, taught them the whole of morality, and as much natural knowledge as was necessary for their preservation and happiness. Parents were very assiduous in instructing their children, and there were besides public schools for the education of youth. Their language, though not very copious, is harmonious, and suited to the flights of sublime poetry; nor were they wanting in expressing the more tender emotions. Whether their poets mourn their faults, or implore the mercy of the divine Being, it is ever with the most ardent and affecting sensibility. What an effect must not their hymns have produced, when their rhythmus was aided and heightened by the charms of music; and when pure virgins and youthful levites marked, with measured

steps, the cadence requisite in their solemn performance.

Their private life presents nothing remarkable. Without doubt they carried on manufactures in their cities, and practised the useful arts, though they cultivated but little of the agreeable, since they were unacquainted with luxury, either in their buildings, their furniture, or their dress. They chose rather to be adorned with neatness than rich ornaments. If we may judge of the inclinations of a people from the desires they express, the Jews were especially delighted with a country life. They wished to sit under the shade of their own vines and their own fig-trees, to gather their olives, feed their sheep, and view their cattle bounding in their pastures. In their captivity, they regretted the pleasant banks of the Jordan, the willows on which they had mournfully hung their lutes and harps. Painful recollection ! the sad effect of wars !

The Jews suffered many and great calamities, and inflicted them likewise on other nations. It cannot be denied that they were a very warlike people : but their numerous armies, which sometimes amounted to eleven or twelve hundred thousand men, give reason to suppose that they, at first, made war rather after the manner of the barbarians, among whom the whole nation took up arms, than as is usual with a people regularly formed and governed, who have soldiers by profession, and cultivate the knowledge of tactics, and the fatal mili-

tary art. This conjecture is rendered more probable by the consideration that these multitudes were usually but ill armed. Afterwards, indeed, they had regular troops provided with good armour, chariots armed with scythes, a well-disciplined cavalry, arsenals well furnished, machines for throwing stones and darts on their ramparts, and all the formidable apparatus of attack and defense. But their especial advantage over other nations was the immediate protection of God, so long as they remained faithful to his worship. God had declared himself their chief, and their government may be considered in its principle as a theocracy.

Death of
Joshua,
1556.

This government subsisted under Joshua, and the *Judges* his successors; that is to say, the Jews undertook nothing but in consequence of divine inspiration manifested to them by the prophets, the number of whom was, at that period, very great. Joshua, before his death, had the pleasure to see the people who had been committed to his care well established in the country subjected by his victories. These were always bloody, and almost constantly followed by cruel executions. Joshua has been accused of a destructive zeal; but his motive may justify him with those who are persuaded that every thing should be sacrificed to religion. He knew the violent propensity of his people to idolatry, and wished to destroy this inclination; the best means to effect which was to remove every example of it, by driving out, or exterminating, those

who might give it. This he did: but his severity against the Canaanites, and his inflexibility in punishing the guilty Jews, was not attended with complete success. Partly from compassion, and partly from the advantages derived from the possession of slaves, the Jews spared great numbers of the Canaanites. The latter, deprived of their temples, which had been destroyed, celebrated their religious rites in groves; to which the Jews were attracted by their curiosity, and the pleasantness and festivity of the scene. The Canaanitish maidens, with a view to win the favour of their conquerors, sought to please them; and the Jews suffered themselves to be allured into marriages with them, and changed their severe religion for the gay ceremonies in the celebration of which their wives had won their hearts. They abandoned God, returned to him, and lived in a perpetual fluctuation between the true and false religions, which was the cause of the alternate victories and defeats they experienced under the judges.

We know not how these judges were chosen, nor what was the extent of their power. They were military chiefs; since we find among them men capable of commanding armies, and who acquired celebrity by expeditions against the enemy. But their office could not have been entirely military, since we find among them women. Of many of them we know not even the names; and these perhaps were not the least deserving our esteem,

Judges,
1580.

since fame is sometimes obtained more by brilliant vices than by virtue.

Benjamites.

Under Othniel, the second successor of Joshua, we find the first example of schism. A young levite, at the request of an old woman, contrary to the express prohibition to sacrifice in any place but before the ark, erected a small altar in a private house. The inhabitants of a neighbouring city named Dan carried away the levite, with his altar and sacerdotal habits, and set up a separate worship. Under the same Othniel was committed the horrid crime of the Benjamites, who treated the wife of a levite with such brutal violence that her death ensued. The levite cut the dead body into eleven pieces, which he sent to each of the other tribes; who took up arms, and exterminated the whole tribe of Benjamin, except six hundred men. Filled with remorse at having nearly destroyed one of the tribes of Israel, the victors could find no other remedy but the commission of a new crime: they slew all the inhabitants of a city in the neighbourhood to obtain their daughters, and not finding a sufficient number, carried off the maidens of another city by surprize. The tribe of Benjamin was thus restored, but was never so numerous as the others.

Gideon,
1761.

Gideon is celebrated for his victory over the Midianites. The latter had entirely enslaved the Jews, and indulged in insolent triumph over them. God had compassion on his people, who humbled

themselves before him, and raised up Gideon to deliver them from bondage. Gideon assembled an army very inferior to that of the enemy ; but God judged it to be too numerous. " Bring," said he to Gideon, " your soldiers to the water : those who shall kneel down to drink send away ; and retain only those who shall take up the water in their hands, and lap as a dog lappeth." Of the latter there were only three hundred, and these Gideon divided into three bodies. They entered the camp of the enemy in the night ; each bearing a trumpet in one hand, and a lighted lamp inclosed within an earthen pitcher in the other ; when suddenly blowing their trumpets, and, by breaking their pitchers, displaying their lights, so great a panic seized the Midianitish army that they fell upon each other, and fled in the utmost confusion. Gideon pursued them, and this single night gave liberty to the whole nation.

The legitimate children of Gideon, to the number of seventy, governed after the death of their father, probably each in his district. Abimelech, the son of a concubine, resolved to reign alone. He accordingly murdered all his brothers, except Jotham the youngest, who made his escape, and caused himself to be proclaimed king in a tumultuous assembly. Jotham, who viewed these proceedings from the top of a mountain, addressed the multitude in the following allegory : " The trees " went forth on a time to choose a king over

The parable
of Jotham.

“ them ; and they said unto the olive tree, Reign
 “ thou over us. But the olive-tree answered, Shall
 “ I forsake my oil and fatness, so acceptable to God
 “ and men, to be king over the trees ? The trees
 “ then said to the fig-tree, Come thou, and reign
 “ over us. But the fig-tree replied, Shall I for-
 “ sake my sweetness and my good fruit to be pro-
 “ moted over the trees ? They then applied to the
 “ vine ; but the vine, in like manner, answered,
 “ Shall I leave my wine, which cheereth God and
 “ man, to reign over the trees ? Then said all the
 “ trees to the bramble, Come thou, and reign
 “ over us. And the bramble said unto the trees,
 “ If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then
 “ come and take shelter under my shadow ; and if
 “ not, let fire come out of the bramble and devour
 “ all the cedars of Lebanon.” The moral which
 Jotham intended to inculcate by this fable no
 doubt was, that good men are rarely desirous of au-
 thority, and that bad men when they obtain it
 only employ it for mischief and destruction.

Jephthah.
 Samson.

Jephthah and Samson are celebrated, the one for
 his rash vow, and the other for his prodigious bo-
 dily strength. The former was the chief of a band
 of adventurers, who attacked, without distinction,
 friends and enemies wherever they expected to find
 booty. The latter may be considered as a soldier
 of ferocious courage, who could subdue every an-
 tagonist but his passions. God made use of these
 two men to humble the Philistines, the enemies of

his people. Jephthah gained several battles ; but in one, in which victory for a time was doubtful, he vowed, if he were conqueror, to sacrifice to the Lord the first living creature he should meet at his return. On his entrance into the city, he heard the sound of musical instruments and songs of triumph. He looked, and wished to turn away his eyes, but it was too late : his only daughter was coming to meet and congratulate him at the head of her companions. Jephthah, with his heart rent with grief, informed his daughter of the solemn vow by which he had rashly bound himself. She heard him with firmness, and only requested a respite of two months, to go and mourn her virginity with her companions. This time expired, she returned with resignation, and “ he ~~did~~ unto her according to the vow that he had vowed.” Sampson, who repeatedly vanquished the Philistines, long merited his victories by the discretion with which he concealed on what the gift of strength which he had received depended ; but at length, become too complying to Dalilah his mistress, he suffered his secret to be wrested from him, and expiated his imprudence by a tragical death, which he rendered, like his life, fatal to his enemies.

The last judge but one was Eli, the high-priest, Eli, 1900.
a pious and just man, but guilty of the utmost weakness in his too great indulgence to his two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, who did not resemble him. He brought up in the temple a young le-

vite, named Samuel, whose ingenuous simplicity he highly esteemed. This child, who had been devoted to God from his birth by his mother, who had obtained him by her prayers after a long barrenness, was chosen to announce to the high-priest some harsh but necessary truths. God commanded him, in a dream, to go to Eli, and reprove him for the conduct of his sons; to reprehend his weak indulgence of them; and to threaten him with exemplary punishment, if he did not correct their irregularities. This remonstrance from the mouth of a child must have been humiliating to the old man; but Samuel fulfilled his mission with so much propriety, and proved so evidently that he had been sent by God himself, that Eli received the message with submission, and resolved to alter his conduct. This, however, exceeded his power, and his sons continued to abuse his goodness. The Israelites were then at war with the Philistines: they were defeated, and the ark was taken. On receiving this intelligence the unhappy old man fell from his seat, and died by the fall.

Samuel.

The government by Judges lasted three hundred and forty-eight years, and ended in Samuel, who signalized himself by a great victory over the Philistines, and had the satisfaction to see Israel enjoy a profound peace. That he might be enabled to discharge his laborious functions as a judge with greater ease, he gave the administration of one district to his sons; but their conduct did not cor-

respond to the confidence their father had reposed in them, and the people murmured. The elders of Israel complained to Samuel of his sons, and told him that since they were unworthy to succeed him, the nation required a king. Samuel assembled the people, and pointed out the danger to which they would expose themselves by exchanging the government of God for that of a man. They, however, persisted in their resolution; and the prophet consulted the Lord, who consented to grant their wish, and indicated the person who should be placed on the throne.

God chose him from the class of shepherds; his name was Saul. Samuel anointed him privately; but when it was necessary that he should assume the functions of royalty, he assembled the people, and caused them to draw lots. Proceeding from tribes to families, the lot fell upon that of Kish; and in his family on his son Saul, who was remarkable for his lofty stature. His first action as a king was a complete victory over the Amalekites; which glorious achievement gained him the esteem of the people. The whole nation assembled, and testified its attachment and respect by presents, a kind of homage which stood in stead of consecration. But while the Israelites were congratulating themselves on having a king endowed, as they believed, with the qualities suitable to his dignity, Samuel, to whom God had revealed the true character of this prince, was not satisfied with

Kings.
Saul.

his proceedings. In several affairs of moment he had acted without consulting the prophet, and had even disobeyed his positive commands. Samuel, therefore, at length declared to him, that as a punishment for his prevarication the crown should not continue in his family; and anointed David, who was likewise chosen from the class of shepherds, in the presence of his father and his brethren.

Several events afforded David an opportunity to make himself known. A profound melancholy, bordering on madness, had seized on Saul, which could only be soothed by the melodious sounds of the harp, on which instrument David excelled. He was accordingly sent for to play before the king, whose gloom he dispelled by his music, and who gave him a place about his person. The insolence of Goliath, a Philistine giant, was another means employed by God to increase the fame of David. Proud of his strength, Goliath, armed from head to foot, braved the whole army of Israel, and challenged all its warriors to single combat; but none dared to enter the lists. David offered to encounter him, and went out against him as he had been used to hunt the lions and tigers of the desert, armed only with his sling; with which he threw a stone that struck him in the middle of his forehead and killed him. This achievement gained him the hand of Michal, the daughter of Saul, whom that prince bestowed on him in marriage.

This was the last favour he received from his sovereign, who tormented with a gloomy jealousy, never ceased to persecute his son-in-law, and to endeavour to procure his death by suborned assassins, and even by his own hand. Jonathan, however, the son of Saul, avowed the sincerest friendship for him; either because he knew of his being anointed by Samuel to the throne, by the command of God, or from pity to persecuted innocence.

This friendship, of which Saul could not be ignorant, increased the anxiety of the monarch, who was tormented by gloomy forebodings. Samuel no longer lived to aid him with his sage counsels; he therefore resolved to call up his shade. In a small town, named Endor, resided an aged woman, who was considered as a forcerefs, who could discover hidden things, and foretel future events. Saul repaired to her in her cave, and made known his wish. She performed her exorcisms, and the king waited the event in profound silence. At length she spoke: "I see," said she, "terrific shades which rise out of the earth; and among them is an old man, with a stern countenance, and covered with a mantle." "It is Samuel," exclaimed the monarch, and immediately prostrating himself on the ground, enquired what would be the issue of a battle, in which he was about to engage with the Philistines. "Why hast thou disquieted me?" said the spectre; "the Lord has departed from thee, and has given the kingdom to Da-

Witch of
Endor.
Death of
Saul.

“ vid ; to-morrow, thou and thy sons shall be
 “ with me.” It then disappeared. The battle
 was fought the next day ; Saul and Jonathan were
 killed, and none of the sons of Saul were left alive
 but Ishbosheth.

David,
 1944-

This prince maintained during seven years his
 right to the crown, supported by able generals, and
 the greater part of the nation. David had with
 him only the tribe of Judah, which, however, was
 equal in power to all the others. The death of Ish-
 bosheth, who was basely assassinated, though David
 does not appear to have participated in the crime,
 rendered him sovereign of the whole nation.

This reign was brilliant ; but nevertheless has
 its shades. Its commencement was prosperous ;
 David triumphed over his foreign enemies, sup-
 pressed all intestine commotions, revived among the
 people an attachment to religion by solemn cere-
 monies, and inspired them with a taste for the arts,
 by introducing into his kingdom able workmen of
 every kind for the completion of the sumptuous
 edifices he erected. He gave them likewise a rare
 example of gratitude, by inviting to his court
 Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, treating him
 with the utmost distinction, and heaping on him
 such honours as were due to the tender friendship
 he had entertained for his father. Happy had it
 been for David had his heart been accessible only
 to this pure passion.

Bathsheba,
 3964-

But walking one day on the terrace of his pa-
 lace, he perceived on another a beautiful woman

in all the negligence and loose attire of the bath. He became inflamed with a criminal desire, and succeeded in gratifying it. Bathsheba, this dangerous beauty, was the wife of Uriah, who for several months had been with the army on the frontiers. She became pregnant, a circumstance which embarrassed the royal lover. He sent for Uriah, not doubting but after a long absence he would willingly embrace the opportunity of visiting his wife. But the brave warrior refused: "I cannot," said he, "while my companions are exposed to the inclemency of the weather in the open fields, go home and sleep effeminately in my bed." David therefore sent him back to the army, with an order to the general to expose him to the enemy in the first dangerous attack. The general complied with the directions he had received, and Uriah was killed. Thus did the adulterer endeavour to veil his crime by murder.

While David endeavoured to stifle his remorse in enjoyment, the prophet Nathan presented himself before him, as if to solicit justice against an atrocious offender. "A rich man," said he, "proposed to give an entertainment; and that he might spare his own numerous flocks, he carried off from his poor neighbour a darling ewe lamb, which was his only wealth, and killed it." "The wretch," exclaimed David in violent anger, "deserves death." "Thou art the man," replied the prophet, with firmness. He had not occasion to insist

to the king, on the magnitude of his crime ; he felt its whole enormity ; and, melting into tears, humbly entreated pardon of his God, who granted him remission of his sin, but not without expiatory punishments.

From this moment his reign was only a series of calamities. He saw his kingdom ravaged by disastrous wars, by pestilence, and famine. He suffered the greatest domestic unhappiness, by his sons committing incest and murder. The nation loudly murmured, and revolt ensued. The rebellion of Absalom, his favourite son, was attended with the most mortifying circumstances. The king was forced to fly from his capital, loaded with the imprecations of his people, who had before adored him. His son, following the advice of perfidious counsellors, who had an interest in rendering the breach between him and his father irreconcilable, caused a tent to be raised on the terrace of the royal palace, and sending for the concubines of his father David, committed with them, in the most shameless manner, the greatest of outrages, in the sight of the people. A battle terminated the rebellion, and the life of this ungrateful son. The old age of David was disturbed by the misconduct of his eldest son, who aspired to the throne ; but by the express command of God he bequeathed the crown to Solomon, the son of Bathsheba, who was not born till she was become a widow, and married to the monarch.

The undertaking which David, when dying, recommended in the most express manner to Solomon, was the building of the temple. He had found Jerufalem, a small town of little strength, and had enlarged, fortified, and rendered it the capital of his kingdom. He had designed to embellish it with a magnificent temple, in which the ark of the covenant might be placed, and all the ceremonies of divine worship performed with pomp and solemnity. David had given the plan of this superb edifice; the materials were prepared, the most able workmen engaged, money amassed, and nothing was wanting but to complete the design. God refused him this happiness, which he had reserved for Solomon, who proceeded with ardour in the work, and finished it in seven years.

Solomon,
1984.

This was the only temple which the Jews were permitted to erect. Here they offered their sacrifices, and here were given the oracles of their religion: here resided the high-priest, as also the other priests, and the ministering levites. Hither all the Jews who had attained the age of maturity were commanded to repair every year at the feast of the passover. Jerufalem, Sion, the temple, the holy of holies, its courts, its porticos, continually recur in all their hymns and sacred songs, and were the perpetual objects of their veneration. The dedication of this edifice was celebrated with a magnificence proportionate to the religious reverence of the spectators. God hallowed it with his presence, and

fire descended from heaven into the sanctuary, and consumed the burnt-offerings.

Judgment
of Solomon.

The commencement of the reign of Solomon, notwithstanding his youth, was rendered illustrious by a judgement worthy the maturity of age, and which must have inspired his people with a great degree of confidence in the wisdom of their new sovereign. Two women resided together in the same house, and were mothers of two infants. One of them overlaid her child in the night, and as fruitfulness was considered as a blessing among the Jews, she went to the other while she slept, and taking away her living infant, put the dead one in its place. Her companion, when she awoke, claimed her child; but she refused to restore it, affirming that the living infant was her's, and not the dead one. On this case Solomon pronounced judgment in public. The two women appeared before him, and he interrogated them; but their answers, and the obstinacy with which they contradicted each other, only contributed to render the cause still more perplexed. The king reflected for a moment, and then turning to one of his guards, said: "Take the living infant, and divide it in two, and give half to the one, and half to the other." At these words, one of the women threw herself at the king's feet, in an agony of distress, exclaiming: "Oh, let her have the whole." This was the voice of nature. "She," said the king, "is evi-

“dently the real mother; let the child be given
“to her.”

The wisdom of this decision deservedly diffused the fame of this young monarch, and procured him a visit from the queen of Sheba, who is believed to have come from Ethiopia, or Egypt. She came prepared to admire, but what she witnessed far exceeded all the expectations she had formed. The queen was charmed with the understanding and wit of the king, and the sumptuous and polite reception which she met with. They mutually proposed to each other enigmas to be resolved; and the success of Solomon, in this kind of exercise, drew from the queen the strongest testimonies of admiration and esteem; which were still more increased when he shewed her his palaces, embellished with the richest ornaments of Asia and Africa, which his ships had brought from the Red Sea; his gardens, stocked with all the productions of nature, “from the hyssop,” say the sacred historians, “to the cedars of Lebanon;” and his arsenals, stored with machines and chariots of war, and arms of every kind.

The queen
of Sheba.

The queen informed herself with respect to the police of the kingdom, the administration of justice, the maintenance of the troops, the political, civil, and religious establishments, all which, during the continuance of the Jewish monarchy, were never at that height of perfection to which they were carried by Solomon. His wisdom has become pro-

verbial. We have some valuable examples of it in his moral writings which have come down to us. The Proverbs and Ecclesiastes are full of precepts applicable to every situation of life; and such as shew the writer to, have been well acquainted with the human heart. The Song of Songs proves that he knew how to express the feelings of the tender passion.

Notwithstanding the deserved reputation for wisdom which this prince acquired, at the close of his life he lamentably departed from that character. The love of pleasure was his ruin. He married a great number of women of every country and religion, not less than seven hundred, according to the sacred writers, besides three hundred concubines. His fond compliance with their superstitions drew him into idolatry; and as great rivers are sometimes lost in sands, this illustrious and celebrated monarch died without leaving any other memorial of his power but the confusion which succeeded.

Rehoboam,
2014.

It had been predicted to him, that, as a punishment for his idolatry, his kingdom should be divided. During his latter years there had been some commotions among the people. A proud and fiery youth, named Jeroboam, had put himself at the head of the malcontents. Solomon caused him to be arrested, and afterwards pardoned him. On the death of the old king, the murmurs of the people were renewed with menaces. They

demand a diminution of the imposts ;—the ordinary pretext of all popular commotions. Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, instead of complying with their demands, or soothing them by mild treatment, made them this harsh answer : “ Think not that I will govern you otherwise than my predecessor. My father loaded you with a heavy yoke, and I will add to that yoke : my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.” Ten tribes immediately renounced their allegiance, and only Judah and Benjamin remained with the imprudent monarch. Rehoboam sent negociators to induce the others to return to their duty ; but it was too late : Jeroboam had taken advantage of the opportunity, caused himself to be proclaimed king, and raised a wall of eternal separation between the two parties of the same nation.

His first care was, as is often necessary in a revolt, to abolish, or at least essentially change, the religion. The national temple, and the obligation every individual was under to repair to it annually to pay his vows, and carry thither his offerings, was, as it were, a bond of union to the Hebrews, and rendered them a nation of brethren ; Jeroboam severed this sacred knot : he every-where authorized idolatry in favour of such of his subjects who wished a certain object for their devotion. Instead of the temple at Jerusalem, to which he forbade them to go, he erected, at the two extremities of

his kingdom, altars to which the Israelites might make their pilgrimages. The priests and the levites who endeavoured to retain the people in their ancient religion were harassed and persecuted: they were not even permitted to fly, and seek an asylum in the kingdom of Judah, lest it should be strengthened at the expense of that of Israel;—a prohibition which was likewise extended to all who remained faithful to the old religion. But all these oppressive precautions did not prevent a number of the Israelites from making their escape; and the kingdom of Judah, though reduced to two tribes, was equal in force to its rival, and continued a longer time.

The Prophets, 2018.

This period was that of the prophets, who were never more numerous. Ahijah, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Zachariah, Jeremiah, and many others, of whom only the names, and some trivial notices, have come down to us, flourished in this age. Of these prophets there were colleges, and numerous associations. Was prophecy then an art, or was it inspiration? It appears that much imposture frequently mingled with it, as happens in all laudable institutions. The prophets not only instructed the people, but frequently gave advice to the kings, in a tone of authority which was not always well-received. Their manners were austere, their morality rigid, their exhortations lively and pathetic, yet never was there so much idolatry and irreligion as in their time. This was the natural effect of schism:

the contrary opinions maintained by the ministers of religion threw the people into a perplexity, which gave birth to doubts, and terminated in incredulity.

Rehoboam, from the same political interest which dictated the schism of his rival, ought to have maintained the religious worship of Jerusalem; but he did not, or at best maintained it but feebly, and suffered idolatry to be established in his kingdom. God punished him by an invasion of the Egyptians. Shishak king of Egypt entered Jerusalem, and carried away the sacred vessels of the temple, and the golden shields which were kept in the royal palace.

Abijah, the successor of Rehoboam, gave a blow to the kingdom of Israel, still under the government of Jeroboam, from which it never recovered. In a single battle, the king of Israel lost three hundred thousand men, killed in the field. Zerah king of Ethiopia attacked Afa, the successor of Abijah, and a pious prince, with an army of a million of men, and was vanquished. Notwithstanding his victory, Afa chose to strengthen himself against another invasion by an alliance with Benhadad king of Syria. For this distrust of Providence, after the deliverance he had experienced from the divine protection, he was reproached by a prophet, and God punished him by a painful disease, under which he languished the remainder of his life. About the same time the family of Je-

Abijah.
Afa.

roboam disappeared from the face of the earth, having fallen a victim to various conspiracies, the just punishment of that which had raised it to the throne.

Ahab, king
of Israel,
2081.

Naboth.

Ahab is considered as one of the wicked kings of Israel; yet we may observe in his reign several acts of goodness; and it appears that he would have been less deserving blame, had he not espoused a wicked woman. The action most injurious to his reputation is the murder of Naboth, an Israelite, who feared God, and peaceably cultivated a small vineyard, his only inheritance. Unfortunately this vineyard was so situated as to interfere with some plans formed by the king, and he wished to purchase it. Naboth excused himself from selling the inheritance of his fathers. Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, seeing her husband chagrined at this refusal, contrived to suborn false witnesses against Naboth, and try him before corrupt judges for a capital crime. He was condemned, stoned, and his vineyard confiscated to the use of Ahab. It does not appear that the king participated in this horrid act of injustice; but he profited by it, and did not punish it. God therefore caused a prophet to declare to him that dogs should lick his blood, and devour the limbs of the cruel Jezebel. Ahab was killed in battle, and the blood from his wound, which had stained his chariot, was licked by dogs; and Jezebel, thrown out of a window,

by order of the usurper Jehu, became, according to the prophesy, the prey of the same animals.

While Ahab reigned over Israel, the throne of Judah was occupied by the pious king Jehoshaphat. This epithet alone sufficiently characterizes him. He was not exempt from misfortunes, for God sometimes exposed his servants to trials; but he triumphed over a league formed against him, and found in his success the reward of his virtues.

Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, 2100.

While the kingdom of Judah enjoyed peace, Benhadad king of Syria overran with his army that of Israel. He advanced to Samaria, the capital, which he held closely blockaded. Joram, the king of Israel, destitute of all resource, mournfully surveyed from the top of his ramparts the formidable multitude which surrounded him. The famine had reached that last extremity at which nature shudders. A woman, pulling another woman after her, came to the king, and interrupted his melancholy reverie—"Justice!" exclaimed she, "justice! Tortured with hunger, I divided my child with this woman, on condition that she should afterwards share her's with me. Mine is eaten; and now she conceals her's, and refuses to fulfil her promise." The king, agonized with grief, rent his garments. His sufferings produced repentance, and he had recourse to Elisha, whom he had before ill-treated. The prophet promised him, that the next day he should be delivered; and accordingly, in the ensuing night, the

Sieg. of Samaria, 2110.

Syrians, imagining they heard a great noise of chariots and horses, supposed a formidable army of Egyptians was coming to the succour of the Israelites, and were seized with such a panic, that they precipitately raised the siege and fled, leaving all their provisions in their camp, which were taken by the Samaritans, and carried into the city, to the great relief of the distressed inhabitants.

Jehu.
Athaliah.
Joash.
2121.

Jehu, who may be surnamed the Exterminator, put to death, at one time, seventy sons of Ahab, and forty-two princes of the house of Judah who were going to visit them. Notwithstanding this massacre, a sufficient number of the race of David remained to glut the sanguinary rage of Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel, who had determined to extirpate this family to the last branch, in order to render vain the promises of perpetuity made to its head by God himself. But her impious project had not the desired effect: Joash, an infant of a year old, escaped her researches, and his elevation to the throne was the sentence of death to Athaliah. Joash was a pious prince, for a time, but at length became an idolater, like his predecessors, and caused the high-priest Zachariah, his uncle, to whom he owed both his life and his crown, to be stoned in the temple. This ungrateful prince saw his kingdom laid waste, and was attacked in his capital by Hazael, king of Syria. To save himself from slavery he despoiled the temple, and delivered its treasures as a kind of ransom to the conqueror. He did not

long survive this act of meanness, being murdered in his bed by his own servants. The contempt of the people pursued him after his death, and deprived him of the honour of being interred in the burying-place of the kings.

Amaziah, his son, punished the assassins of his father, but was not more prosperous than he, because he was not more religious. He possessed courage, which he sometimes carried even to rashness. Being at war with another Joash king of Israel, he wrote to him thus: "Come, let us see one another face to face:" to which Joash answered: "Thou art like the thistle, which wishing to make an alliance with the cedar, was trodden under foot by the wild beasts." This contemptuous answer produced a battle, which Amaziah lost, together with his treasures and his liberty. The latter Joash generously restored to him. From the time of Jeroboam the son of Joash, and Zachariah his grand-son, the kings of Israel are scarcely known but by their defeats and their misfortunes.

Amaziah.
Jeroboam
II. 2160.

Uzziah, by his wisdom and mild government, healed the wounds which the kingdom of Judah had sustained under the preceding reigns. He would have been prosperous to the end of his life, had he not yielded to an extravagant vanity, and aspired to the honour of exercising the functions of the priesthood. For this God smote him with the leprosy; and he died miserably. The virtues of Jotham consoled Judah, while Israel languished under

Uzziah.
Pekah.
Jotham.
2238.

the tyranny of Pekah, whose subjects feeling but little affection for so bad a master, defended him but feebly against Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, who carried away captive the whole tribe of Naphthali.

Ahaz,
2250.

Notwithstanding so great a loss, the Israelites were still strong enough to make the whole kingdom of Judah tremble once more. They put to the sword a hundred and twenty thousand Jews, and were carrying away two hundred thousand prisoners, of both sexes and all ages, when they were met by the prophet Oded: "What are you doing?" exclaimed he; "would you reduce to slavery the wretched survivors of your brethren whom you have massacred? Have you resolved to exterminate from the earth the unhappy tribe of Judah? If God hath delivered into your hand the idolaters, your anger ought not to fall on the innocent; and if you thus abuse your victory, you will have cause to fear the divine vengeance. Be contented with the spoil you have taken, and release and send home your brethren." This pathetic exhortation had its effect. The Israelites released their prisoners, and bestowed on them at parting the most tender proofs of humanity and affection. The unfortunate Jews stood in need of this consolation, for they had just been plundered by a king of Syria, who had advanced to the very gates of Jerusalem; the neighbouring nations of the Idumeans and Philistines, their ancient enemies, attacked their frontiers; and the

whole reign of Ahaz was one continued scene of misfortune and desolation.

After so many calamities, which poured like a furious hurricane on Judea during the reign of Ahaz, an unexpected calm succeeded during that of Hezekiah, his son; who began his reign by re-establishing religion, on which depends the obedience of a people and their prosperity. He purified his kingdom from the idolatry with which it was infected, cut down the groves, banished their impure ministers, restored to the temple of the true God its ornaments and sacrifices, and celebrated the feast of the passover with a magnificence unknown from the time of Solomon. To this festival he invited all his subjects by circular letters: they came in crowds, and with them many of those of the kingdom of Israel.

Hezekiah,
2272.

Unhappily this was the last time that the people of the latter kingdom were to witness any ray of that splendour which had formerly rendered their country illustrious, and which they were destined to lose for ever. Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, without any other motive than that of plunder, fell like a thunderbolt upon the kingdom of Israel; took Samaria, the capital, which he reduced to a heap of ashes; and carried away into captivity Hoshea, its king, with all those of his subjects who had been able to escape the first fury of the victors. The prophets represent the Assyrians as barbarians thirsting for blood, who carried their horrid cruelty so

Captivity of
the Israel-
ites.

far as even to rip up pregnant women, and dash their infants against the stones. Thus were destroyed the ten tribes which composed the kingdom of Israel. They were in part massacred, and in part dispersed among the nations which formed the great empire of the Assyrians. Some families of this unfortunate people collected together in the places to which they were exiled, and some remains of them have been found, but they have never since existed as a nation. The conquerors sent colonies from the other nations they had subjugated to repopulate the country.

Dial of
Ahaz.

The example of this calamity which had befallen the neighbouring kingdom alarmed Hezekiah, who sent rich presents to Shalmaneser, and thus turned aside the torrent that was ready to ravage his dominions. But he was soon menaced by a new danger. To Shalmaneser, the barbarous conqueror of the Israelites, Sennacherib had succeeded; who seeing nothing to pillage in Israel, turned his attention to Judah. Hezekiah prevented his invasion likewise by presents, and even descended to submit to a tribute. But as there cannot be a worse means of procuring peace than by appearing afraid of war, Sennacherib believed that new threats would produce new presents. He signified his claims in insolent letters, and supported them by an army, which advanced even to the walls of Jerusalem.

Hezekiah was then sick. He had, besides, when he had ward off the first invasion of the Assyrians,

attributed to his own prudence the whole honour of his success. God determined to chastise his vanity, and sent the prophet Isaiah to announce the approaching punishment. Hezekiah humbled himself, and God not only restored him to health, but foretold to him that all the efforts of Sennacherib against him should be defeated. He requested of the prophet a miracle, as a pledge of this promise. At the command of Isaiah, the shade of the stile which marked the hours on the dial of the palace returned back ten degrees; a retrogression which, if it took place on every other dial, could not be produced without a retrograde motion of all the heavenly bodies; and consequently the greatest miracle that ever was wrought; and in comparison with which, that of protecting Hezekiah from the fury of Sennacherib was of small importance. With respect to the latter, God, to fulfil his promise, sent the destroying angel into the camp of the Assyrians, who in one night slew a hundred and eighty-five thousand men: the rest fled in confusion, and Hezekiah was delivered. He left behind him the character of a pious prince, though too susceptible of vanity. This fault drew on him several punishments. He embellished Jerusalem, supplied it with water, encouraged agriculture, and died regretted by his people.

His son Manasseh did not follow his example, and his misfortunes were proportionate to his wickedness. He was idolatrous and sacrilegious; he

Manasseh.
Amon.

he thirsted for the blood of the priests and worshippers of the true God; and in his turn underwent the punishment due to his cruelties. The Assyrians returning into Judea, notwithstanding their defeats, laid waste the country, loaded the king with chains, carried him prisoner to Babylon, which they had lately conquered, and threw him into a dungeon. Misfortune produced repentance, and the conquerors of Manasseh, moved by his submissive entreaties, restored him to his throne; after his restoration to which he caused his crimes to be forgotten by his virtues, and rendered his people happy. His son Amon copied his example only in his wickedness, and perished miserably, being assassinated by his subjects.

Josiah,
2356.

Before the last catastrophe, which shook the kingdom of Judah to the foundations, there was one reign which merits to be recorded. It was that of Josiah, who ascended the throne almost a child, and never ceased to display, during a long life, the good qualities which he had early manifested. He destroyed the idols which the reign of Amon, though short, had re-introduced in great numbers, and he not only destroyed them in Judah, but likewise in Israel, some districts of which he appears to have united to his dominions. Josiah sent throughout the country commissioners invested with his authority, and charged to revive the civil and religious laws; but not trusting implicitly either to their zeal, or their abilities, he made himself the tour of

his provinces. Under the vigilant eye of the monarch the abuses which had escaped the commissioners disappeared. On his return to Jerusalem he repaired the temple, and caused the festival of the passover to be celebrated with the same pomp as that in the reign of Hezekiah. This was the last. Josiah took the field to oppose an army of Egyptians, who demanded a passage through Judea to attack the Assyrians, his allies, or protectors, fought them, and was killed in the battle. It has been supposed that it was on account of his death that Jeremiah composed his Lamentations, an energetic and affecting elegy, expressive of the most lively grief. In fact, there could scarcely be a greater cause for sorrow, since the religion, the happiness, and the glory of the nation expired with this pious king.

His son Jehoahaz underwent the fate destined for his father, and was led captive into Egypt. The conqueror gave the crown to Jehoiakim, his brother, of whom a very hideous portraiture is drawn. His palaces, say historians, were founded on murder, and embellished by rapine. He falsely accused the innocent of crimes, that he might condemn them to death, and confiscate their property. He contended, but without success, against Nebuchadnezzar, king of Assyria, who subjugated the whole country, pillaged the temple, carried away the king prisoner to Babylon, and afterwards restored to him the crown,

Jehoahaz.
Jehoiakim.
2389.

under condition of a tribute, which, when he had paid three years, he revolted, and was slain.

Jehoiachin,
2400.

Jehoiachin, his son, succeeded him, imitated him in his crimes, and suffered similar calamities. It does not appear to be certain whether he assumed the sceptre without the knowledge of Nebuchadnezzar, or whether he endeavoured to shake off his yoke; but that monarch attacked him, and though the Jewish king endeavoured to appease him with the most humble supplications, the inexorable Assyrian led him and his whole family, laden with chains, to Babylon, where he died. The palace, the royal treasury, and the temple, were pillaged a second time. The sacred utensils, which had been preserved from the time of Solomon, and respected in all former ravages, were carried off in this. The conquerors likewise took with them to Babylon the Jews most distinguished for their wealth or their abilities, as also the most skilful workmen, so that only the dregs of the nation remained in Judea, and men were wanting even to cultivate the land.

Zedekiah.
The great
Captivity.
2417.

Nebuchadnezzar left Zedekiah, the uncle of the dethroned king, to govern this wretched remnant of a nation formerly so flourishing. Not intimidated by the example of his nephew, he had the imprudence to refuse the tribute required by his benefactor, who immediately returned with all the fury of an insulted conqueror. He besieged Jeru-

saalem, which he entered sword in hand, and massacred the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. He destroyed all the palaces and sumptuous edifices, and demolished the temple to the foundation. Then were fulfilled all the evils predicted by the prophets. The sacrifices ceased, which had not happened before, even in the greatest calamities. The ark of the covenant, and the sacred deposits contained in it, were prophaned. There were no longer oracles nor priesthood. The king, the princes, and princesses of the blood-royal, were torn from their palaces, and hurried away into captivity, together with the whole nation. The wife was separated from the husband, the children from their parents, and driven along like herds of cattle. Their merciless conquerors kept the most distinguished of them in dungeons at Babylon, and dispersed the remainder through the most distant countries of their empire, until the time appointed by Providence for their return, after the destruction of the Assyrians, their conquerors and tyrants, which had been also predicted by the prophets.

ASSYRIANS.

It is difficult to assign the boundaries of ancient Assyria. It appears to have been situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates, inclosed between those two rivers, from the part where they begin to approach each other on leaving Mesopotamia to that

Assyria, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, to the countries comprehended between Asia Minor,

Armenia,
Media, Persia,
Arabia,
the Desert,
and Syria.

Origin of
great empires.

where they join, not far from their mouth in the gulf of Persia.

It must naturally excite surprize, that so small a country should have been able to send forth armies of a million or twelve hundred thousand men; a number which dismays the imagination, especially when we consider how many attendants they must have had exclusive of fighting men. But this kind of enigma is explained by the manner in which these vast armies were formed.

From the centre of a not very extensive domain a warlike band frequently issued, which poured upon the neighbouring country, carrying away the inhabitants, who having no other resource, incorporated themselves with the conquerors. United, and allured by the hope of plunder, they proceeded onwards, ravaging other lands, and increasing their army with the despoiled inhabitants, who in like manner joined them. Thus were formed those wandering hordes, which under the name of Assyrians subdued Mesopotamia, penetrated to Armenia, Media, and Persia, inundated Syria like a torrent, and carried devastation through Chaldea, become the country of the Jews. As their conquests extended, the centre of their power became surrounded with deserts, and itself a desert. It is in vain that we seek the vestiges of the most famous cities, as Niniveh and Babylon; which, from the descriptions that have reached us, have been justly enumerated among the wonders of the world.

It is in vain, likewise, that we enquire, what were the manners, religion, commerce, and usages of the Assyrians. They must have been those of all the various nations who united to form them; that is to say, they were conquerors and barbarians who allowed the greatest liberty in their police and their ceremonies, provided none of their people adopted laws or practices which might obstruct the success of their warlike expeditions.

Manners,
religion,
commerce.

It may be supposed, that a people in this unsettled state had neither the time nor the means to write annals which may serve as a basis for chronology, or furnish any certain dates. The memory of the principal facts could only be preserved by tradition, and has been transmitted to us with not a few variations by the Greeks. At the same time that it is allowed, that we owe to the latter almost all the historical knowledge we possess relative to the ancient nations of Asia, it must be admitted, that they have greatly disfigured it by accommodating to their own language and pronunciation the names of persons and divinities, and assimilating events to their own traditions, in such a manner that when we imagine we are in possession of authentic facts we frequently discover them to be only Grecian fables. This observation may serve to point out the degree of confidence which ought to be reposed in the histories of these ancient times.

Ninus and Semiramis are the hero and heroine of the old Assyrian chronicles, compiled by the

Ninus.
Semiramis.

Greek Ctesias. Ninus reigned over a small country situate among lakes and mountains, on the left bank of the Tigris, at a little distance from the source of that river. This position will explain the cause of his becoming a warrior and a conqueror ; which no doubt was the necessity of finding a more fertile country. He must be supposed to have begun by forming a chosen body of the youth of his kingdom, whom he inured to endure labour and fatigue. He then contracted an alliance with a king of Arabia, who he feared might attack his dominions while he was at a distance from them ; and having taken this precaution, followed the course of the Euphrates, subjugating the whole country to the place where he built Niniveh. He then proceeded northward into Armenia, which he conquered, putting the king to death on the cross, and extirpating the whole royal family. His other achievements were rather excursions than military expeditions ; for the dread of his power seems to have bound the hands of all who might have resisted him. He overran Egypt, Cœlofryia, the countries situate on the Hellespont, those of the Parthians, the Medes, and the Persians, and was only stopped in his career by the Bactrians, whose mountains and valour suspended his victories, though but for a time.

Here Ctesias introduces Semiramis. She was the daughter of a goddess named Derçeto, who had drawn on herself the resentment of Venus.

The incensed divinity inspired her with a passion for a young man by whom she had a daughter, which she concealed, from shame, among the rocks of the desert; and afterwards threw herself into the sea, where she was changed into a fish. Some pigeons, which chance had brought to the cave where the infant was concealed, covered and cherished her with their wings, and fed her with milk and cheese which they stole from the shepherds in the neighbourhood. The latter perceiving the theft, followed the birds, and found a beautiful female child. Their chief, who was shepherd to the king, gave her the name of Semiramis, which in the Syrian language signified a dove.

She soon surpassed all her sex in wit and beauty; and her charms made such an impression on Menon, governor of Syria, that he married her. Ninus had about that time returned to the attack of the Bactrians, whose principal fortress, named Bactra, he besieged. Menon was obliged to follow the king in his expedition; and not being able to endure the absence of his young wife, sent for her to the army. Semiramis therefore set out for the camp, secretly cherishing views of aggrandizement. She knew that the first object of a beautiful woman should be to attract attention; and the daughter of Derceto secured it by a dress half-gallant and half-warlike, and at the same time so elegant, that the Persians and the Medes, nations by turns military and effeminate, adopted it after their conquests.

Having arrived at the camp, Semiramis, who wished to owe her elevation to a merit less common than that of beauty, examined the operations of the siege. She observed that all the attacks had been directed against the weaker parts of the fortress, to which the besieged had by consequence drawn all their troops, and left the stronger without defence. She collected a number of men accustomed to climb up rocks, formed them into a body, put herself at their head, and after having with prodigious labour surmounted incredible difficulties, she gained the highest part of the fortress, which, thus attacked on all sides, was compelled to surrender.

Ninus wished to see the woman who had been able to conceive and execute such a project. He became enamoured of her, and demanded her of Menon. The husband refused to give up his wife, and the king insisted on his compliance. The general killed himself in despair; and Semiramis, now become a widow, married Ninus, who returned to enjoy with her the fruits of his conquests in Niniveh, the city he had built. This is supposed to have been situate towards the source of the Tigris, and near the frontiers of the dominions of Ninus. Historians speak of it as a superb city, but without giving any particular description of its beauties. It is known that it was very extensive; but we are entirely ignorant where it stood,

and notwithstanding all the researches that have been made, no traces of it have ever been discovered.

Semiramis lived but a short time with Ninus. At her death she left a son named Ninyas. As she had procured her power and fame by a military achievement, she maintained and extended them by the same means. But her husband had only brought into the field armies of six or seven hundred thousand men, while she levied one composed of three millions. With this immense force she secured the submission of the countries already conquered, and subdued many others. War, however, was not the only object she attended to in her expeditions: her progress was marked by works of utility. She drained marshes, built bridges, levelled mountains, and formed roads, which long after her time still bore the name of the roads of Semiramis.

As Ninus had founded, or at least embellished, ^{Babylon} Niniveh; Semiramis, in emulation, built Babylon. Both these cities were surrounded with a wall several leagues in circuit, and a hundred feet high. On that of Niniveh only three chariots could pass in front; but that of Babylon would admit of six.

The latter city was situate on the Euphrates, which divided it into two parts, united by a single bridge, the floor of which was of cedar. Lofty marble quays embellished and strengthened the banks of the river. There was a passage by water under arches shut in by gates of brass. On one

bank was the magnificent temple of Bel or Belus, and on the other the palace of the queen. These edifices communicated with each other by a passage under the bed of the Euphrates. An immense lake was dug to receive the waters of the river during sixty days which were employed in making these passages.

The Greek historians are very diffuse in their enumeration of the ornaments which embellished these two edifices, and especially in their description of the hanging-gardens, of which so much has been said. These were constructed on an enormous mound of earth, which Semiramis had caused to be erected over the tomb of her husband. This was so vast, that gardens were formed on it, containing large trees. It is observed, likewise, that this queen, on several other occasions, manifested a taste for artificial mounts; and in the course of her expeditions employed a part of her army to raise them in the midst of extensive plains. She caused her tent to be erected on them; and from this kind of throne gratified her eyes with the view of her numerous armies beneath her feet. Semiramis, while she raised in her palace these almost aerial gardens, contemplated exultingly her own creation; for a creation it may be termed, since, to complete the prodigy, the historian adds that all these wonders were the work only of one year. The queen divided the ground of the city among the principal lords of her court, on condition that they should build after

the plan she gave them, and complete the edifices in a certain time.

As to the money requisite for these great enterprises, it is not to be imagined that it was derived from taxes equitably imposed and regularly levied. The ravaging sovereigns of those ages, when their treasuries that had been filled by pillage were emptied, entered by force the countries they believed to be opulent; and not contented with contributions, carried off every thing—provisions, cattle, the produce of industry and commerce, and even men, women, and children, whom they sold for slaves; and when the money thus obtained was expended, turned their arms against some other country, and laid it waste in like manner.

Thus Semiramis, having exhausted the region around her to a considerable distance, resolved to invade India, which was considered as the richest country in the world. Her preparations for this expedition continued three years, but it was not attended with corresponding success. After having obtained some advantages, her army, which consisted of three millions of men, was defeated and dispersed, and she herself wounded, and obliged to fly. It is not known whether she returned to her dominions, nor where she died. It is said that her son Ninyas formed a conspiracy against her, which deprived her of her throne and life.

Semiramis has left behind her the reputation of a princess of abilities and courage. Of both these

qualities she gave evident proof, on an occasion of the utmost importance. While she was at her toilette, intelligence was brought her that a sedition had broken out in the city. Without allowing herself time to finish the arrangement of her dress, she flew to the place where the danger threatened her, and either by force or persuasion appeased the revolt. To perpetuate the memory of this event, she caused a statue to be erected, representing her with her hair dishevelled, as she was at the moment the rebellion took place. Her virtue as a woman has been more than suspected. She was continually surrounded by the handsomest youth in her kingdom under the name of guards, some of whom frequently disappeared, and especially those who had been most honoured with her attention, which gave birth to a suspicion, that from some remains of shame, adding cruelty to debauchery, she removed out of the way the accomplices of her pleasures.

Ninyas.

Her son Ninyas imitated his mother more in the disorders of her private life than in her political and military occupations. The manner in which he provided for his own security, and the tranquil enjoyment of his pleasures, merits to be recorded. Every year he raised an army, composed of men levied in the different provinces of his empire, and over each provincial division appointed a leader of his own choice. This army served during a year under his immediate inspection, and was employed to guard the city and the palace, but subjected to a

rigid discipline. When this time had expired, he disbanded it, after having made every individual take an oath of fidelity, and raised another, formed in the same manner. As there was scarcely time for either officers or soldiers to form any intimate acquaintance with each other, and as they were besides commanded by chiefs chosen by the monarch, they could not concert any enterprizes against him; and thus, without fear of revolt, he abandoned himself in his palace to the most shameful pleasures. His successors do not furnish more brilliant materials for history. We know not either the dates of their succession, or their consanguinity, from Ninias to Sardanapalus, who was the last of them.

The name of this latter prince is become almost a proverbial reproach; and he merited the ignominy to which he is consigned, if, as history asserts, he was not ashamed to dress like a woman, to spin among his concubines, to paint, and deck himself with the most effeminate ornaments, and riot in the most shameless and vile lasciviousness. Either from indignation at his conduct, or from ambition, two of his subjects formed the project of dethroning him. One of these was named Arbaces, a Median by nation, and an able general, the other was Belshazzar, a Babylonian, a priest, and a great astrologer. The latter prevailed on Arbaces to enter into his plans, and inspired him with hopes by pretended predictions. They began by forming a combination among all the governors of the province, who,

Sardanapalus.

at that time, by a very blameable negligence on the part of the monarch, were all assembled at Niniveh; and afterwards they gained over the annual army.

But before this plot was carried into execution, Arbaces wished to be convinced of the true character of the sovereign whose life he was to attempt; a prudent precaution in a conspirator. He procured himself to be introduced into the palace, where he witnessed the shameful conduct of Sardanapalus, and he no longer entertained any doubt of success. Yet this effeminate sovereign displayed in the hour of danger much more bravery and firmness than could have been expected from him. Three times he defeated the rebels, thrice they retired in disorder, and thrice the astrologer Belesis rallied them with his predictions, and at length prevailed on them to make a last effort. In consequence of a defection of a part of the royal troops, which Belesis had found means to procure, this last effort proved successful. Sardanapalus was compelled to retreat to Niniveh, where he expected that he should be able to defend himself a long time, because the city was strongly fortified, and the besiegers had not machines to batter the walls; but an unforeseen inundation threw down a part of the ramparts, and opened a wide breach to the assailants. Sardanapalus, that he might not fall into their hands, burnt himself, with his women, and all his riches. The victors destroyed Niniveh

to the foundations, but treated the inhabitants with humanity.

Among the actions attributed by the Greek Ctesias to Ninus, Semiramis, Ninyas, and Sardanapalus, it may be that there are many which were really performed by them ; but it is probable that he has ascribed to four sovereigns, the facts and events which happened during the reigns of a much greater number, and thus composed a romance rather than a history. The Jewish historians, notwithstanding the brevity of their accounts, furnish us with information which may enable us to apply to each prince the facts that appertain to him, and to give the regular form of annals to the Assyrian history.

The first monarch of the Assyrians, as a powerful nation, was named Pul. He found Niniveh built. Pul is well known for his achievements against the kingdom of Israel, which he rendered tributary to him, after having traversed as a conqueror that of Syria.

Emperors of Assyria, according to the Jews, 2228.

Tiglath-pileser inflicted still greater calamity on the Israelites, by carrying away many of them captives into his dominions : but he protected Ahaz king of Judah, against Rezin king of Damascus, who oppressed him, and overthrew the kingdom of the oppressor,

Shalmaneser completed the misfortunes of the Israelites, by carrying them all into captivity, and dispersing them through his extensive empire. This

prince extended his conquests over Syria and Phœnicia, and humbled the pride of the Tyrians, whom, however, he could not entirely subject. This same king, and Rabshakeh, his general, attacked Hezekiah king of Judah, and with menaces and imprecations insolently defied the power of the God of the Hebrews. Rabshakeh encamped under the walls of Jerusalem; but Isaiah when foretelling this siege had said: "He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow against it, nor come before it with a shield." The exact accomplishment of which prophecy is found in Herodotus, a prophane historian, who tells us that a prodigious number of rats gnawed, in a single night, all the thongs of the bucklers, and strings of the bows, of the besieging army. Shalmeneser was killed by his own sons.

2287.

Efarhaddon his son, but not one of those who assassinated him, restored the glory of Assyria. To the sceptre of Niniveh he united that of Babylon, completed the ruin of the Syrians and the Jews, who now ceased to be nations, and carried his victorious arms into Egypt and Ethiopia.

2353.

Nabuchodonosor subjected the Medes, and destroyed the magnificent Ecbatana, their capital. He wrote to Holophernes, one of his generals—"March against the inhabitants of the countries of the west, and command them to bring me earth and water. If they refuse to obey, I will cover their land with my numerous armies, and deliver them a prey to my soldiers, till the bodies of the slain

“ shall fill the vallies, and the torrents of their blood make the rivers overflow. Fulfil my orders, and delay not.” Holophernes, in consequence, assembled an immense army, repulsed in the desert the Arabs, the children of Ishmael; traversed Mesopotamia, and destroyed its cities; attacked the Midianites, and burned their tents and sheep-folds; covered the plain of Damascus with ruins, and massacred the inhabitants; ravaged the coasts of the sea, insulted the name and power of every divinity, and forbid the worship of any god but Nabuchodonosor.

This prohibition, notified to the Jews with blasphemous menaces, filled them with dismay. They expected a general massacre; when a young widow of their nation, named Judith, conceived the project of delivering them. She caused herself to be presented to the Assyrian general, who struck with her charms, introduced her into his tent, and his table, but guarding too little against the effects of wine, suffered himself to be surprized by sleep; when Judith, with the aid of her attendant, cut off his head, and carried it away in a bag. The whole army immediately dispersed, and the Jews were delivered. Nabuchodonosor, as a punishment for his pride, was changed into a beast; that is to say, having aspired to raise himself above human nature, he became less than a man.

In his reign the Assyrian empire attained the summit of its glory, and likewise began to decline,

till it was gradually swallowed up in that of the Babylonians; and in the next age scarcely any traces remained of its existence.

BABYLONIANS.

Babylonia,
between the
Tigris and
the Eu-
phrates,
Mesopota-
mia, and
the Gulf of
Persia.

The kingdom of Babylon must be distinguished from the empire of the Babylonians. There are still remaining some accounts of the former, from the remote ages immediately succeeding the deluge. This kingdom was not large, since it did not extend beyond the banks of the two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates; or at most, it extended to but a small distance beyond the Tigris, towards the country where Niniveh is supposed to have been situate, and whence probably came the first monarchs of this kingdom. But the empire, that is to say, the power which gave laws, not only to the small district which contained the city, but to distant countries round it, was formed by a succession of conquests which sometimes proceeded from the centre to the extremities, and sometimes returned from the extremities to the centre. Thus we find in the list of the Babylonian emperors, Arabs, Persians, and Medes, some of whom have established dynasties, while others have only occupied the throne as the reward of their valour, but have left no successors of their race. It results from these observations, that Babylonia and Assyria were in fact the same country, and that these two empires are almost always confounded; with this difference,

that the Babylonian survived the Assyrian ; and that consequently it had more certain and established usages, which as they are more known are here to be recorded, which they could not be with such propriety when we treated of Assyria.

With respect to climate, what is true of that of Climate. one of these countries must, it is evident, be applicable to the other. Babylonia is a country entirely flat, exposed to heats that are often insupportable, and which sometimes forced the inhabitants to take refuge in cisterns, or large earthen vessels, in which they slept. It scarcely ever rains there, but the two rivers annually overflow, and leave on the land great pools of water, from which the inhabitants of the more distant parts water their grounds ; by which means, notwithstanding the continual dryness of the country, it is extremely fertile. Its fruits are excellent, and when it was well peopled, its corn, in abundance and quality, surpassed that of the countries most favoured by nature. Hence some have placed here the terrestrial paradise. There is no natural curiosity in this uniform country, if we except a kind of bitumen, useful for burning and building, which is thrown up like a froth by a small river of Armenia that falls into the Euphrates.

The Babylonians and Assyrians disputed their Antiquity. antiquity with the Egyptians, and even asserted they were more ancient. In fact, if they had for the founder of their monarchy Nimrod, the grand-son

of Noah, whom some have supposed to have built Nineveh, they were probably the most ancient people ever collected into a nation. Idolatry, it is said, had its origin on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, whence it spread into Egypt and Greece. The fables of all these countries have, indeed, a great resemblance to each other. Pul, Bel, or Jupiter, was, under different names, the god who resides in the heavens, directs the thunder, and governs the destinies of men. The Astarte of the Syrians, the Mylitta of the Babylonians, and the Venus of the Greeks, was a woman of the greatest beauty, the mother of the graces and the loves, who presided over pleasure, and excited to the enjoyment of it by her example.

Religion.

In Babylon, prostitution was an act of religion, a tribute which every devout woman was required to pay once in her life to the goddess in her temple. Doubtless this was a custom, and not a duty prescribed, and it is indeed difficult to believe that the custom was general. All the different species of idolatrous worship that have polluted the world appear to have had their origin in Babylon. There were adored both deified heroes and animals. Incense was offered to trees, to the elements, and the seasons; and in the same temple, by the side of false divinities, who it was supposed might be appeased by human victims, was erected an altar to the true God; a strange contrast, which has been imitated by nations not less enlightened than

the Babylonians. This mixture of worship was what is called Sabianism, which consisted in believing in one supreme Deity, without excluding the adoration of secondary divinities.

The Babylonians, at certain times, held a kind of market of their daughters. They assembled them in a public place, where they were exposed to general view, and the money given for the purchase of the handsome was applied to portion out those who were deficient in personal attractions. Purifications were rigorously prescribed, and necessary in so hot a country. They exposed the sick at the doors of their houses, that those who had suffered by the same disorder might point out the remedies by which they had recovered. Though they bordered on the country of perfumes, they covered their dead bodies with wax and honey, which was their mode of embalming. They accompanied their funerals with songs and solemn lamentations. Customs.

It would be unjust to attribute to a whole nation the debaucheries which perhaps were only the excesses of certain individuals. The Babylonians are reproached with having introduced into their orgies not only courtisans, but even their wives and daughters, who gradually divesting themselves of all shame, threw off their garments one after the other, till they were entirely naked. These dissolute practices were so common that they are mentioned by more than one historian. They

have been attributed to the climate, which inclined them to effeminacy; or to religion, which consecrated the greatest licentiousness, and perhaps they ought to be ascribed to both.

Priests and
Soothsayers.

The Babylonians took their priests from the Chaldeans, who were their philosophers, soothsayers, and astronomers. They considered the stars as gods, at least the habitations of subaltern divinities, to which the supreme Deity had confided the government of the world. This opinion gave birth to judicial astrology, of which, as we have already remarked, they are said to have been the inventors; and which consisted in observing what star appeared in the horizon at the moment of the birth of a child; as they believed that this star, or at least the divinity which resided in it, had an influence on the whole life of the new-born infant; whence, as they supposed, might be predicted whether he would be brave, rich, fortunate, or unfortunate, according to the nature and power which they attributed to that star.

The Chaldeans likewise practised divination by the flight of birds, the inspection of the entrails of victims, the features of the countenance, the lines of the hand, and the phænomena of nature, which they considered as presages. They were greatly venerated, and had near the temples magnificent establishments, in which they held their schools; but their science did not go out of their families. In this particular, however, the pro-

feſſion of the diviner did not differ from other profeſſions, which in the eaſt paſſed, and ſtill continue to paſs, from father to ſon : a practice conducive to the perfection of the arts, but little favourable to invention.

The religion of the people in general conſiſted in the worſhip of Oannes, a monſter half a man and half a fiſh, who aroſe out of the ſea, and had taught them all the ſciences ; and in that of Venus, the mother of the graces. The latter it was, doubtleſs, who preſided over their dreſs, which was at once magnificent and effeminate, and conſiſted in a linen veſt that reached down to their heels, over which they wore another of fine woollen, and over all a white mantle, or cloke. The dreſs of the women did not differ much from that of the men, and both were remarkable for the richneſs of their acceſſary ornaments. They wore their hair, and on their heads a tiara, or mitre. Their fingers were loaded with rings, one of which they uſed as a ſeal. They rarely went out without a ſtaff, or kind of ſceptre, in their hand, the head of which was ornamented with the figure of a flower or a bird ; and on their feet they wore rich ſandals.

The Babylonians were acquainted with dancing and muſic. The Jewiſh hiſtorians record and cenſure the uſe they made of theſe in the feſtivals of their falſe gods. As to foreign commerce they early cultivated it, by means of their two great

rivers. Internal commerce, or consumption, must no doubt have been very extensive among so numerous a people, who attracted to themselves all the products and luxuries of the nations they conquered. Rich embroideries, fine linen, resplendent dyes, manufactures skilfully wrought in wood, copper, and silver; all the ornaments of luxury were found among this refined and industrious people, who knew how to employ their talents for the arts with peculiar taste, insomuch that a merchant who wished to extol what he offered for sale would say—"It is of Babylonian workmanship."

Kings and
divisions of
the people.

The Babylonian monarchs assumed the title of *King of kings*. They claimed adoration, using the following kind of reasoning: "We have triumphed over the power of the gods of other nations, and consequently we are greater than they. They are worshipped, and we must be still more entitled to adoration." Their monarchy took the proud title of *Queen of the East*. The sovereign was despotic, and the pomp of his court was proportionate to his pride. The sacred scriptures have preserved to us the gradation of his officers. He had a captain of the guards, a chief of the eunuchs, a first minister, a chief of the magicians, a number of judges to hear and redress the complaints of the people, and a body of soldiers to enforce the execution of his orders. The punishments inflicted were speedy and terrible, as they still are in the east. The Babylonians had a custom which still exists in several

parts of Asia, and which has a connexion with the first principles of education; the people were divided into different classes, or casts, each of which had its particular usages, exercised an exclusive profession, and fed on viands which another class held in abhorrence. They had likewise their peculiar doctrines, their separate schools and sects, the names of which have come down to us.

It might be expected that the annals of a people who made so brilliant a figure among the first known nations must furnish us with interesting facts; yet they present us with little more than a barren list of names. They commence with a kind of romance, the date of which is placed as far back as the time of Sardanapalus, the last emperor of the Assyrians who reigned at Niniveh. We have already seen that Belesis the astrologer had a considerable share in the success of Arbaces, who had compelled Sardanapalus to burn himself with all his riches. "While you was carrying on the siege," said that crafty knave to Arbaces, "I made a vow that if you succeeded I would remove to Babylon the ashes of the pile on which Sardanapalus expired, and there raise a mount near the temple of my god, which shall remain as a monument of the destruction of the Assyrian empire to all who shall navigate the Euphrates." Belesis knew that these ashes contained an immense treasure, and he easily obtained them from the credulous Ar-

Fabulous
Times.
Belesis and
Parfondas.

baces, who had bestowed on him the government of Babylon.

Become possessor of these riches, he so entirely gave himself up to every kind of luxury and effeminacy, that he rendered himself an object of railery to the whole court of Arbaces. The principal favourite of the emperor, named Parfondas, a handsome youth, who excelled in manly exercises, was among the foremost of those who ridiculed Belesis, and even openly expressed the utmost contempt of him. The astrologer, highly offended, contrived to have Parfondas seized and brought to his palace, swearing that he would render this censorious despiser of his pleasures the most delicate and effeminate of men. He accordingly sent for the eunuch who had the superintendance of his singing women, and commanded him to shave and paint Parfondas, to dress him like the singing girls, to teach him their art, and to spare no pains to transform him as much as possible into a woman. By the skilful management of the eunuch, Parfondas, who no doubt acquired a taste for this kind of voluptuousness, became more effeminate and delicate even than a woman, and at every banquet surpassed in attractive graces the most charming ladies of the court.

In the mean time Arbaces caused search to be made every-where for his favourite; and at length it was discovered that he was detained by Belesis.

The emperor sent to demand him ; and the officer who was charged with this commission began by harshly reproaching Belesis for having given so much uneasiness to his benefactor. " It is in my power," answered he, " to justify myself : " and giving the officer the most courteous reception, immediately invited him to a sumptuous entertainment, at the close of which entered about fifty women, singing and playing on different instruments. The astrologer told him he was welcome to choose her he thought the most lovely and accomplished. The officer gave the preference to Parfondas, whom he soon after recognized with great astonishment, and brought back to Arbaces his favourite. Parfondas, on his arrival at court, complained loudly of the affront that had been offered him, and demanded vengeance. The governor of Babylon was cited to appear, and he readily set out for the court, taking with him great quantities of gold, silver, and jewels, which he distributed among the eunuchs and favourites. When brought before the king he excused himself by alleging that he had no other design than to make Parfondas sensible that he ought not to ridicule and despise those who suffered themselves to be seduced by the charms of pleasure ; and, in fine, turned the whole adventure into a matter of pleasantry ; so that Arbaces, though he had been at first much irritated, at last laughed himself at the joke. Parfondas received no recompense for the disgraceful metamorphosis

he had suffered, and Belesis returned triumphant to his government. The latter doubtless owed his acquittal less to his reasons than his riches; and this, perhaps, is the moral it was intended to inculcate by this story, which, in many parts at least, is certainly fabulous.

Nebuchad-
nezzar,
2394. His
dreams.

After Arbaces, succeeded the reigns of five monarchs, divided by interreigns, which with difficulty fill up the ages that elapsed from that prince to Nabopolassar, who is the Nebuchadnezzar of scripture. We have already spoken of his wars and his conquests, but he became still more celebrated by his dreams, which in those times were believed to be of important signification. He dreamed that he saw a great image of excessive brightness, and the form of which was terrible; the head was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, and the feet part of iron and part of clay. A stone thrown by an invisible hand struck the image on the feet, and the whole was broken, and became like chaff, which the wind carried away; and the stone that struck the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. Nebuchadnezzar had forgotten this dream; but Daniel, one of the Jews he had brought away captives, told him what he had dreamed, and explained the meaning of the vision. The different materials of the image—gold, silver, brass, iron, and clay—signified the specific differences of the successive monarchies of Babylon,

the Medes and Persians, Greeks and Romans; to which was to succeed an inundation of barbarians, like the chaff carried by the wind. The great mountain signified a latter kingdom, which is to endure for ever, and which the Jews understand to mean the reign of the Messiah.

Nebuchadnezzar dreamed again, and he saw a great tree, the top of which reached to heaven, and the view of it to the end of the earth. The leaves were fair, and the fruit abundant; birds dwelt in its branches, and the beasts of the field reposed beneath its shade. "While I admired it," said the king, "a loud voice cried: Hew down the tree, and cut off its branches; shake off its leaves, and scatter its fruit; let the beasts depart from under it, and the birds forsake it. Nevertheless, leave the root in the earth, and bind it down with a band of iron and brass. Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him, and let seven years pass over him." It was very dangerous to give the true explanation of this dream to the face of the monarch. Daniel therefore hesitated, and for some time "his thoughts troubled him." At length, however, he told the king that the tree signified himself; and that after having been the admiration of his empire, he should be reduced to the condition of a beast, and become an object of compassion.

During the seven years of his punishment, in whatever manner his kingdom was governed, it

Evil-micro-
dach, 2427.

appears to have suffered no convulsion. One event, indeed, took place, less important in itself than in its consequences. Evil-merodach, his son, while on a hunting party, made an incursion into the territories of the Medes, who rose upon him, and drove him back. An imprudent diversion thus became the cause of a fatal war, of which Evil-merodach only saw the preparations; for he was treacherously murdered by Neriglissar, his brother-in-law.

Neriglissar,
2439.

Neriglissar, when he ascended the throne, found the Babylonian empire menaced by the Medes and Persians. He succeeded in forming against them a powerful league among the neighbouring sovereigns, who raised a very numerous army to oppose them. But the Babylonians fled without fighting, and their allies were compelled to retreat, and abandon their camp to the victors. Neriglissar was killed in the battle.

Laborosoarchod,
2443.

Laborosoarchod succeeded him, but whether he was his son is not certainly known. His memory is stigmatized in history by two actions equally infamous: the murder of Gobryas, a young Babylonian nobleman, whom he killed at a hunting-match, from jealousy of his dexterity, because he had pierced with his dart a wild beast which he himself had missed; and the mutilation of an officer, named Gadates, because one of his concubines had praised his personal accomplishments. The families of these two noblemen, who were very power-

ful, joined the Medes and Persians, and contributed not a little to the overthrow of the Babylonian throne, already in a tottering state.

The final subversion of this empire took place under Nabonadius. He was the son of Nitocris, a woman as much extolled for her courage and abilities in the conduct of public affairs and great enterprises as Semiramis herself; but she lived in a time less propitious to the exertion of these admirable qualities. The empire of Babylon approached its fall, which she endeavoured to avert by fortifying the city. It is said that she placed over her tomb this inscription: "If any king of Babylon who comes after me shall be in want of money, he will find here what he stands in need of." He who opened it found no treasure, but another inscription in these words: "Hadst thou not been the most avaricious of mankind, thou wouldst not have violated the asylum of the dead."

Nabonadius,
or Belshazzar, 2544-

The walls she had caused to be built were so lofty and strong, that her son, who sustained in Babylon the siege of the Medes and Persians, being well provided with provisions, believed that he should be able to tire out the besiegers. Confiding in this expectation, he gave himself up, in his palace, to the enjoyment of every pleasure, as if it were a time of profound peace. Being one day at table, with his concubines, and the usual companions of his revelry, by a refinement of debauchery, he ordered the sacred vessels which Nebu-

chadnezzar had taken from the temple in Jerusalem to be brought, that his guests might drink out of them: when suddenly a hand appeared, which traced on the wall unknown characters. Astonishment and dread seized on all present; and Daniel the prophet, who had interpreted the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, was sent for to read the writing. He read it, and pronounced this terrible sentence:—"The days of thy reign are numbered and finished; thou art weighed in the balances, and found wanting; thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." In that same night the enemy, who had turned the course of the river, entered the city by its channel, and put to the sword the king, the garrison, and all the inhabitants. Babylon was demolished, and is now so entirely erased from the face of the earth, that all endeavours to discover the place where it stood have been fruitless. The Babylonians were intermingled and confounded with the Medes, their conquerors.

MEDES.

Media, between the Caspian sea, Persia, Assyria, Parthia, and Armenia.

The climate of Media within a small space is very cold and extremely hot; the former on the mountains, and the latter in the plains. The produce of the country varies with the temperature: it is abundantly fertile in some parts, and very sterile in others. The barren parts, as is usual, especially the mountains, produce excellent game in great

quantities. The air on these mountains is very healthy, but it is less salubrious in the plains, especially towards the Caspian sea; in the vicinity of which the country is frequently inundated by the overflowing of the rivers that fall into it, and infested by a multitude of noxious insects.

The Caspian sea is a great lake, the extent and shores of which were but very imperfectly known to the ancients, and have not been described with accuracy, till very recently, even by the moderns. Considering the number and size of the rivers that fall into it, we shall be at first inclined to imagine that it cannot absorb all their waters, without discharging them by a subterranean communication with the ocean. The ancients supposed there were certain great gulfs which received them; and this opinion has been revived by some moderns; but more able naturalists have calculated that evaporation alone is sufficient to prevent this sea from being swelled beyond its usual limits. The water of this sea is salt, like that of other seas, notwithstanding the opinion of the ancients to the contrary; and its freshness in some parts near the shore is only owing to the rivers that discharge themselves into it. It abounds with fish of various kinds, some of which are peculiar to it.

The mountains, which are high and rugged, formed, for the most part, the boundaries of the provinces, and have in them narrow passages, resembling gates. The situation of these, which

were called the *Caspian gates*, has been a subject of dispute among geographers. Ptolemy places them between Media and Armenia.

In some parts of Media where grain was wanting the inhabitants made bread of dried almonds; but the southern parts produce corn, every necessary of life, and especially excellent wine, in the greatest abundance. In this beautiful country, where now stands the city of Tauris, and which is called the garden of Persia, formerly stood the famous city of Ecbatana; but of which the site is now unknown. It was built on a mountain, in a circular form, surrounded by seven concentric walls. Their summits, rising one above the other, were painted of different colours, which from a distance gave them a singular and pleasing appearance.

Antiquity,
Government,
Manners.

The patriarch Madai, the third son of Japhet, has been supposed to be the father of the Medes. This people were at first very warlike; but when they became the allies of the Persians they became effeminate, without its being easy to determine whether this degeneracy was communicated by the Medes to the Persians, or by the Persians to them. They were very dextrous in the management of the bow, and poisoned their arrows. They are reproached with having introduced the barbarous custom of making eunuchs; but, as if they wished to indemnify them for their degradation, they treated them with the utmost respect, and lavished honours on them. They confided to them the

education of their princes; because they had observed that, being deprived of family connexions, they were the more strongly attached to their pupils, who were to them instead of children; and having no domestic cares, or future prospects, they were better fitted for the study of the sciences. In fact, from this class of mutilated men were frequently produced able ministers, and even excellent generals. Reciprocal polygamy was in use among the Medes. A man was not considered as entitled to a certain degree of respect unless he had seven wives, nor a woman, unless she had five husbands. The historian Strabo, who has informed us of this custom, does not appear to have considered how difficult it must be, where one husband has seven wives, to find, without confusion, five husbands for one woman. Equally incredible is the custom ascribed to the whole nation, of keeping great dogs, to which they threw their relations and friends when at the point of death; considering it as disgraceful for them to die in their beds, or be buried in the earth. This shocking custom, if ever it existed, can only be considered as the madness of certain individuals piously cruel.

The religion of the Medes was the same with that Religion. of the Persians, of which we shall speak hereafter. It appears that, attentive solely to war during the short duration of their empire, they applied themselves but little to commerce, to extend which their

situation was besides not very favourable. Laws among them, when once enacted, could not be repealed or changed, even by the power which established them; hence we read in the scriptures of the “law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not.” The restraint thus imposed on their kings is the more surprizing, as the Medes treated them with a reverence approaching to adoration. No person might presume to laugh or spit in their presence. They gave to their monarch the supreme title of *king of kings*. This flattery was adopted by the Parthians and the Persians. Sapor, a king of the latter, writing to a Roman emperor, styled himself “the king of kings, related to the stars, and brother to the sun and moon.”

Fabulous
Times.

In the infancy of the Median empire we again find a Semiramis, who, sometimes beneficent, removed precipices, drained marshes, and levelled mountains; and sometimes, gratifying her pride, hewed out of a rock her own statue of gigantic size, surrounded by a hundred horsemen. Jealous of the fame of every predecessor, she destroyed the proud Ecbatana, and removed its treasures to the Babylon she had founded. Thus are the events of the world merely a circle of creations and destructions. Eight kings succeeded her, whose very names are equally uncertain with the expeditions attributed to them. The kingdom, either from incapacity on their part, or the peculiar course of

events, fell into anarchy. Happy the country which, in such a situation, finds a man capable of administering justice and governing it!

Among the persons on whom the Medes had been obliged, during this state of anarchy, to confer authority, was one named Dejoces, who displayed extraordinary abilities for government. He was affable, accurate, an intelligent mediator, and an upright judge. From the province in which he presided his fame spread through all the others; and he saw himself, at length, the arbitrator of the whole kingdom. Having reached this point, the artful Dejoces declared that the labour he was obliged to undergo was too great for his strength; that his health was much impaired; and that he suffered considerably in his fortune, because he had not sufficient time to employ in the management of his private affairs. Having taken care that these complaints should be every-where made public, Dejoces shut his doors, and would listen to the complaints of no person. It was soon perceived that there was no longer any government. The disorders increased, and the people assembled to find a remedy. Dejoces suborned persons to declare that the only one was to make him king. The whole assembly acquiesced in this opinion; the proposal was approved by acclamation, and an offer of the throne made to Dejoces, by whom it was accepted.

The fox then became a lion. It is observed that this man, before so easy of access, shut himself up in

Historical
Times.
Dejoces,
23co.

his palace, was continually furrounded by a numerous guard, and became a despot. Probably, during his popularity, he had remarked that the multitude are easier governed by force than by kindness. He therefore punished with severity, though on the other hand he rewarded with generosity. From him originated the sage laws by which the Medes were civilized ; and his administration prepared the way for the brilliant reigns of his descendants.

Phraortes,
2345.

Phraortes invaded and subdued Persia, the conquest of which rendered him proud ; and he afterwards attacked Assyria, but was defeated and killed.

Cyaxares,
2351.

His son Cyaxares avenged him, but he had the mortification to see Media ravaged by an inundation of Scythians, to whom, for a long time, he was able to oppose but a feeble resistance. To deliver himself from them entirely he had recourse to an act of barbarity, which has been but too frequently imitated. He invited the principal Scythians to a sumptuous entertainment, at which he caused them all to be massacred. His subjects, informed of it murdered them in like manner, in the greater part of the cities : many, however, still remained, who were made slaves, and employed as domestics and officers of the kitchen. Some of the latter being personally ill-treated by Cyaxares, in revenge killed a youth of whom he was fond, and dressing his flesh like venison, served it up at the king's table. Cyaxares, after having made him-

self feared by the Babylonians, concluded an alliance with them, shared with them his conquests, and left the kingdom, then in the height of its power, to Aftyages his son.

Among the Hebrew captives divided by the Medes with the Assyrians was a Jewish maiden, of great beauty, named Esther. Aftyages added her to the number of his wives. She had been followed into Media by Mordecai, her uncle, a wise and prudent man, who by a fortunate chance discovered a conspiracy, and gave information of it to the king's council, which availed itself of his intelligence, but gave him no reward. Aftyages, causing the annals of his reign to be read to him, found this circumstance recorded in them, and observing that this service and fidelity had never been recompensed, he sent for Haman, his first minister, and said to him: "What shall I do for the man to whom I would give a distinguished proof of the greatest esteem?" Haman, elated with pride, imagined that the man to whom the king wished to give a distinguished proof of his esteem could be no other than himself: he, therefore, answered: "Sire, let this man be arrayed in the royal apparel which the king useth to wear, and let him be mounted on the horse that the king rideth upon, and set the crown royal on his head; and let one of the king's most noble princes lead him by the bridle, and proclaim before him: Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to ho-

Aftyages, or
Ahasuerus.
Esther.
2415.

“nour.”—“Go,” replied the monarch, “and do
“unto Mordecai even as thou hast said.”

Haman obeyed, but with his heart inflamed with rage, because he detested Mordecai, who had constantly refused humbly to bow and cringe to him. He determined on vengeance, watched the favourable opportunity, and by surprize induced the king to sign an order for a massacre of all the Jews in his dominions on the same day. His atrocious scheme was soon divulged, and Mordecai sent information of it to Esther, exhorting her, at the same time, to use every means in her power to prevail on the king to recal his cruel command. But, to effect this, it was first necessary that she should venture into the royal presence; and a law, probably made in the time of Dejoces, who had found it to his interest to render himself inaccessible, forbade any person to approach the monarch uncalled for, under pain of death. Esther, after much hesitation, resolved to break this law; but on entering the king's apartment, she was overpowered by her fears, and fainted in the arms of her attendants. Her situation heightened her charms, and Astyages, hastily descending from his throne, extended towards her his sceptre, which was the token of pardon and favour. He listened to her petition, and, astonished at the cruelty which his perfidious minister had so nearly caused him to commit, condemned him to death, and appointed Mordecai to his place.

By events similar to this were the Jews frequently consoled in their slavery. One of them, named Daniel, after having been sixty-five years principal of the council of the kings of Babylon, became first minister to Cyaxares II. the son and successor of Astyages. The confidence with which this prince honoured him excited the jealousy of the courtiers, and they plotted his ruin. To effect their base design, they prevailed on the king to issue a proclamation, prohibiting any person from addressing a petition during thirty days to any god or man except himself, under pain of being cast to the lions which were kept to devour criminals. They were certain that Daniel was too much attached to his religion to abstain from the acts of devotion it prescribed. In fact, he continued to pray almost publicly every day, and was thrown into the den of lions, which had previously been kept for some time without food to render them more fierce and voracious. But the God of the Jews miraculously preserved him; and the king the next day caused him to be taken out of the den, and threw into it his accusers, their wives, and their children, who were instantly devoured.

Cyaxares II. was the last king of the Medes. Astyages, his father, had given Mandane, his daughter, in marriage to a Persian named Cambyfes. They had a son named Cyrus, who united under his power the two kingdoms of the Persians and

the Medes, when the latter lost its name, and was incorporated with the former.

PERSIANS.

Persia, between Scythia, the Indus, the Red Sea, Arabia, the Mediterranean, and the Caspian Sea.

Productions.

Persia is, perhaps, the most delightful country of Asia. Besides the vegetable productions common to this part of the world, as rice and excellent fruits, it produces wheat and wine, which are peculiar to itself. Perfumes and medicinal plants are not rare; and several of the provinces furnish metals, which the ancient Persians were able skilfully to manufacture. Kirvan produces silver; Hyrcania, iron and steel; and Mezanderan, copper. The mountains and vallies afford alum, sulphur, salt, naphtha, marbles, turquoises; and the Persian gulph, the finest pearls in the sea. The ground is almost every-where enamelled with flowers; jasmins, tulips, anemonies, ranunculas, jonquils, and tuberoses, grow there wild. The most excellent dates and the best opium are likewise natives of this country. In fine, there is in Persia an abundance of every thing which nature produces but sparingly in all other countries.

Only one venomous plant is the offspring of its soil. Its name signifies, in Persian, *the flower which poisons the wind*; because, during great heats, its emanations corrupt the air that passes over it, and render it mortal to those who breathe it.

Climate.

Except where this plant grows, the air is ex-

tremely salubrious, and freshened by rivers, which are not large but numerous: the waters of the springs are carried through narrow canals well adapted for watering the declivities, before they descend into the plains they fertilize. Violent storms are rare, nor is thunder and lightening frequent, but there is sometimes danger from earthquakes.

The Persian horses are much esteemed, and are Animals. not inferior to the Arabian. The women ride on mules and asses, which are sometimes sold at high prices. Camels are useful for long journeys, and the carrying of heavy burdens. Cattle are numerous in every part of the country, which affords them plentiful sustenance. Among the mountains there are lions and tigers. Some travellers tell us of lizards an ell long, and enormous toads, most disgusting to the sight, but which are not poisonous.

Birds of every species are numerous; but the pelican, or water-carrier, is peculiar to Persia. This fowl feeds on fish, yet usually lives as far as it can from rivers, sometimes the distance of two days' journey, for fear of being surprized. When pressed, however, by hunger and thirst, it repairs to the streams to procure provision for itself and its young ones, which it carries in a large pouch, below its bill, big enough to contain a lamb. We are tempted to consider as a fable what historians and travellers tell us very seriously of a bird, named

abmelec, that eats locusts, which certainly is not wonderful; but they add, that it is so fond of the water of a certain fountain in Bactriana, that it will follow every-where a person who has a bottle of it, provided it has not been in a house, which appears to deprive it of its virtue. We may likewise believe, if we please, that the fishermen of the Caspian sea are so certain of the produce of their net, that they throw back into the sea all the fish that they cannot sell before sunset, without preserving any for their subsistence the next day.

Curiosities.

The natural curiosities of Persia are not very numerous. The principal are—a subterranean river perceivable through a cleft in the ground; a cavern, from the roof of which water drops, and forms stalactites; the bezoar, procured from the goats of Chorasan, which was formerly held to be sovereignly medicinal; and a shrub which is poisonous to asses, but no other animal. As for artificial curiosities, it would be in vain to seek them among the modern Persians, who totally disregard works of art. The voluptuous mahometan, shut up in his seraglio, seeks only to take a foretaste of the pleasures promised by his prophet, without troubling himself to ornament the inn which he is soon to quit. The ancient Persian, on the contrary, was anxious to embellish the habitation of himself and his descendants, and impress on his monuments the seal of immortality.

Persepolis.

In the most beautiful plain of the east, traversed

by the Araxes, and watered by a multitude of small streams descending from the mountains that surround it; in this plain, still peopled by more than fifteen hundred villages, separated by tufted groves and odoriferous gardens, anciently stood the magnificent Persepolis, the capital worthy an empire so rich and powerful. Its ruins impress the spectator with a sentiment of mingled admiration and grief. The city and the palace were situate at the foot of a mountain, whose windings and ascent have been ably employed by the artist for convenience and decoration. In the solid granite are cut figures, which neither time nor the destructive fury of conquerors have been able to efface. Some of these are emblematical or historical; others represent battles, hunting-matches, and ancient ceremonies, religious and profane. They are raised on the peristyles, interwoven between the columns, and adorn the walls of tombs, not only around the principal palace, but at a considerable distance among the mountains. These figures shew that men in ancient Persia were, as we still see them, of a lofty stature, and noble demeanour; that they were muscular, with animated countenances and active limbs. The female figures are of majestic stature, and have more of dignity than grace. They are observed to have a disdainful, haughty, and commanding air, corresponding to the authority they are said to have exercised over their husbands and children.

Antiquities,
government,
customs,
sciences.

The Persians are descended from Shem, by Elam his son. His descendants peopled Susiana, and the other neighbouring provinces, the inhabitants of which in scripture are called Elamites. Their government has always been monarchical, and their crown hereditary.

Kings.

During a long succession of kings, who were all absolute sovereigns, their throne was established, and surrounded with a majesty which induced the Persians to consider them as divinities. The will of the monarch was the supreme law. At his coronation he received a tiara, which he alone wore, rising and terminating in a point; the tiaras of his courtiers and nobles being higher or lower, according to their rank and dignity. A purple and white riband, named a diadem, girt the tiara of the emperor. As his accession to the throne was celebrated by great rejoicings, his death caused an universal mourning. On this occasion, and on this only, every family extinguished the sacred fire, which it was usual to keep burning as a tutelary divinity.

The Persian monarchs, possessing a vast empire, changed the place of their abode according to the temperature in which they chose to reside. For this purpose, they had palaces in the northern, and others in the southern parts of it. That in which they dwelt was for the time revered as a consecrated temple. The bed, or throne, was of massive gold, studded with precious stones, and the walls

inlaid with gold, silver, amber, and ivory; whence we may form a judgment of the ornaments of the other parts. At the head of the bed was a casket, containing a great sum of money. It was called the *royal pillow*, probably because it contributed to the tranquillity of the sovereign. How many monarchs have had their sleep disturbed for want of this precaution!

Pleasure was the sovereign good of these voluptuous princes. One of them, not satisfied with the enjoyments furnished by the luxuries of his palace, was not ashamed to promise, by an edict, a reward to him who should invent a new pleasure. It was not, however, from their not having been instructed in virtuous principles, that they thus gave themselves up to debauchery, for their education was attended to with the utmost care, as we may infer from that of their subjects.

At the age of five years, the child was taken Education. from the women, and committed to the care of the magi, who taught him, still more by their example than their instructions, to practise every virtue, and avoid every vice; among which latter they especially reckoned lying, and contracting debts. At seventeen years of age, the children of men of rank were admitted among the king's guards, and accompanied him in the chase, or on warlike expeditions. It is not known to what age fathers preserved the power of life and death over their children; but they were restrained by the laws from

exercising it for small faults, or for a single crime. The same restriction limited the despotism of their monarchs.

Manners
and
Customs.

The Persians considered a numerous posterity as the gift of heaven; and the fathers of large families received a reward from the state. They celebrated their birth-days with magnificence; and were fond of opportunities to give entertainments, in which they were not sparing of their excellent wine, nor very censorious of those who drank it to excess. They deliberated on important affairs in their banquets, but came to no resolution till the next day, while fasting.

Both in their visits and casual meetings they behaved towards each other with the greatest politeness, which they expressed by the most respectful gestures and affectionate embraces. In general, they testified a great esteem for their countrymen, though no people appear to have been more disposed to adopt the manners, and even the vices, of other nations.

Administra-
tion of jus-
tice.

The Persians had no law against parricide, considering this crime as impossible; and when any accusation of that kind was preferred, the judges declared it unfounded. In criminal trials they had a very wise practice, which it were to be wished could be every-where adopted. The judge was obliged to examine the whole conduct of the culprit; and if his bad actions exceeded the good, he underwent the punishment due to his crime; but if it was found

that his good actions were more numerous than the bad, he either received a full pardon, or at least a proportionate mitigation of his punishment.

Their punishments were dreadful. That of the
 trough, or boat, shews a diabolical refinement of
 cruelty in the inventor. It consisted in placing the
 miserable sufferer in a hollow tree, and covering
 him with another, leaving out his head, feet, and
 hands, which were rubbed with honey to attract
 the flies, and other insects, to sting and torment
 him, while the worms, produced by his excrements,
 devoured his entrails. In this condition they ex-
 posed him to the burning sun, and prolonged his
 life and tortures by forcing him to swallow nourish-
 ment. Some wretched beings have lived seventeen
 days in this horrible state. Poisoners were pressed
 to death between two stones; though the punish-
 ment of high-treason was only beheading.

Punish-
ments

They had a great number of eunuchs, their jea-
 lousy always having been, as it still is, extremely
 violent. It was a capital crime to touch any of
 the king's women, even by accident; to approach
 too near them when they travelled, or not to get
 out of their way with the utmost expedition. They
 had many wives and concubines, one of whom was
 mistress over the rest, and frequently cruel. We
 cannot be certain whether it was a custom com-
 mon to the whole nation, or only that of a few
 grandees, to marry their sisters, and even their
 daughters; but authors accuse them of cohabiting

Jealousy.

with their own mothers. They perhaps derived this shocking licentiousness from the Egyptians, or the Phœnicians, among whom we know that it was authorized, or at least permitted.

Institutions.

They had all the institutions, political, civil, military, and religious, which are found in a well-regulated government. They had laws for their rural occupations, and a salutary police in their cities. They were careful to make and maintain roads, and had an established post—or at least an equivalent, in foot couriers, trained to their employment. They coined money of such pure gold that it was in great request among all foreign nations. Their commerce with other countries does not appear to have been very extensive. As to the sciences, the celebrity of the magi proves that they were cultivated in Persia with great success. The magi applied themselves principally to mathematics and astronomy, which they had learned of the Indians, together with other sciences and religious mysteries, of which we have now no knowledge. It appears that they were jealous of their becoming too public, for they confined them to their colleges, and only communicated them to a few tried adepts, and the members of the royal family, over whose education they presided.

Military service.

Every Persian was born a soldier. The military service was a strict obligation: an exemption from it was not permitted; even to require it was accounted a crime. Of this, the following anecdote

is a terrible example. An old man had rendered a considerable service to the state: "Ask of me," said the king, "the reward you choose, and I promise to grant it you." "Sire," replied the old man, "I am become infirm, and have need of assistance. I have five sons in the army: permit the eldest to return home to attend and comfort me." The king made no answer, but ordered the wretched son to be cut in two, and caused the army to file off between the halves of his yet palpitating body.

In consequence of their destination to the military state, the Persians never quitted their arms, even in time of profound peace, and were thus continually ready to repair to their standards. They served without pay, or other recompense than their share of the spoil. Their defensive arms consisted in a tiara, or head-piece, so thick as to be proof against all kinds of offensive weapons; a coat of mail, wrought like scales, and made with sleeves; cuirasses, and a wicker buckler. Their offensive weapons were javelins and short swords, bows of uncommon length, and arrows of reeds which broke in the wound. Their horses were covered with thick skins: they managed them with great address, and shot their arrows with astonishing dexterity, especially in their flight; a practice which they had in common with the Parthians.

It is supposed that they invented armed chariots, which are of excellent use in a plain country. In

their military equipage they displayed great luxury. They wore over their armour cloaks of a purple, or still more lively colour, which gave them an effeminate air; though it could not diminish their courage. A Persian army in its marches and reviews presented a magnificent spectacle. The monarch was in the centre, surrounded by his choicest troops, whose ornaments were more or less splendid according to their distance from his person. The royal standard, which was a golden eagle, and the chariot of the sun, drawn by six white horses, preceded the king. He was followed by his children, his wives, and those of his principal nobles: an embarrassing train, but which had its utility.—Warriors who fought within view of all they held most dear, must conquer or die.

Laws.

Their laws had for their object rather to prevent than to punish crimes; and to inspire a love of virtue, and horror of vice. From their infancy these principles were inculcated in their schools, which were under the direction, not of mercenary masters, but of men of generous birth and tried probity. The discipline of these schools was severe, and the youth were allowed no other food but bread and cresses, and no drink but water; and even these were purchased by violent exercises from an early hour. Those who had not passed through these schools could not be admitted to any offices or employments. The Persians were, perhaps, the only people who have enacted a penal law against

ingratitude. The king permitted advice to be given him : but he who adventured to give it must stand on an ingot of gold, which he carried away with him as his reward if his advice was approved ; but if it was not, he was publicly scourged.

Every province had its treasury. The imposts Imposta. were for a long time voluntary. The first king who levied them was, by way of reproach, called *the merchant*. Some districts paid in kind ; others provided for, or entertained the court, or a part of it, for a number of weeks or months. Some provinces were required to defray certain portions of the royal expenditure, as that of the king's stables, his buildings, or the dress and ornaments of the queen. Ethiopia, when it was subdued, sent gold ; Arabia, perfumes ; and Colchis, a hundred boys, and as many girls.

The religion prevalent in Persia till the destruction of the empire, and carried into India by the Perses, who still profess it, merits more attention than almost any other. It was at first pure theism, Religion. Theism. though even in the time of Abraham debased by heterodox opinions ; but they have ever zealously preserved the doctrine of the unity of God : and we are not to conclude from the veneration they shewed, and still shew, to fire and the sun, that they have ever adored either the element or the luminary. Zoroaster, their great teacher, directed them to turn towards the sun, or the fire, when they prayed ; but the prayers which they recite in this

position are addressed solely to the sovereign Being, and not to the symbols of him. It is to be observed, that certain sects hold water in the same veneration as fire, and they are equally forbidden to defile it, as to throw into the fire any impure substances.

Theology.

Their theology is very perplexed. To the first principle, named *Oromafdes*—that is, good or just—they add an evil principle, who according to some is co-eternal with the good, and according to others produced in time by darkness, and named *Ahriman*. From these two principles, which are engaged in perpetual contest, originate good and evil. Evil is punished in the other world by two guilty angels, whose punishment is to proportion out the sufferings of the damned. They will, however, all be delivered at the day of general judgment, which will be at the end of twelve thousand years. They say that God employed six seasons in the creation of the world, and they honour the commencement of each of these seasons by a festival of five days' continuance.

Ceremonies.

No people of whatever religion have so many ceremonies and forms of worship, preparatory, expiatory, and initiatory, which they practise with a scrupulous exactness, though they are irksome and fatiguing from their multiplicity and length. The *Persees* are subjected to no legal prohibition from particular meats; but as they are mild and compliant, they abstain in India from the cow, that

they may not displease the banians, and from the hog to satisfy the mahometans. Their marriages are blest by the priests, to whom the parties declare their consent. The priest is likewise called to persons dying, whom he exhorts, and for whom he prays; but he never approaches them when dead, lest he should be rendered impure. The dead body is carried to *the tower of silence*, where it is devoured by birds of prey. It therefore infects neither fire, water, air, nor earth. The Persees in India still have burial-places of this kind; but they have no temples but private houses, instead of those *pyrea*, or temples of fire, which they erected with so much magnificence in the country over which they reigned, and which were anciently as numerous as the churches in catholic countries.

The infancy of the Persian empire is enveloped in obscurity. Herodotus has attempted to elucidate it, but after his manner; that is, by supplying the place of uncertainty by fables. Notwithstanding his propensity to invention, he has not been able to ascend higher than Cyrus. We have seen that Astyages, king of the Medes, gave his daughter Mandane in marriage to a Persian named Cambyfes. This marriage was occasioned by the dreams of Astyages. He dreamed twice: the first time, that such a quantity of water flowed from his daughter that it inundated all Asia; and the second, that a vine grew out of the body of Mandane, which overshadowed all that part of the

Fabulous
Times.

world. These dreams were interpreted to signify, that the child which his daughter should give birth to should occupy the throne of Astyages, and extend his empire over all Asia. Had he given Mandane a Median for a husband, her father feared he might be supplanted by one of his subjects; he therefore married her to a Persian, a man of a mild and pacific disposition, and whom he did not think to possess spirit and resolution sufficient to instil into his son the principles of revolt and conquest.

To render himself still more secure, when his daughter was pregnant he sent for her into Media, and when she was delivered gave the child to the chief of his shepherds, named Harpagus, with orders, under pain of the most cruel punishments, to expose him in the most desert and dangerous part of the mountains. Harpagus could not conceal this commission from his wife, who, moved by the smiles of the infant, requested to be permitted to preserve him; and Cyrus, brought up in the cottage of the shepherd, acquired strength by rustic exercises, and lived as the equal of his comrades, over whom, however, he required an ascendancy, by that air of superiority bestowed on him by nature.

In their sports, if any authority was to be granted, it was conferred on him; and they had one day chosen him king. Cyrus, who was only ten years of age, commanded with dignity, and insisted that his orders should be obeyed. The son of a

great lord, who was one among them, refused obedience; and the mimic king caused him to be severely punished. The boy complained to his father, who carried his complaint to the king. Astyages wished to see the little monarch who knew so well how to make himself obeyed; and in his appearance and answers observed some indications which excited his suspicions. He made enquiry, and discovered that the youth was his grand-son, who had not been put to death according to his orders. He immediately inflicted a cruel punishment on Harpagus, by causing the limbs of his own son to be served up to him at an entertainment. He afterwards consulted the magi how he ought to act by the young prince. They answered: "He was to be king in Media: he has been; the presage is accomplished, and cannot be fulfilled twice." On this answer, Astyages sent him back to his parents in Persia.

They had mourned his loss, and the miracle of his being restored to them gave them the utmost joy. When they were informed of all the circumstances, their pity for the shepherd, Harpagus, soon became a wish to serve and benefit him; while he, on his part, had conceived an ardent thirst of revenge; and the connexions he had, in consequence of his office, with the great lords of Media, afforded him the means of gratifying it. He found them discontented, and the people murmuring under oppression. He communicated to Cyrus his observa-

tions on the state of affairs, and advised him to profit by the opportunity, to deliver the Persians from the yoke of the Medes.

Cyrus began by fabricating a letter from Astyages, appointing him general in chief of all the forces in Persia, which he caused to be read in the general council of the nation. By virtue of this letter he assembled the army, imposed on them some severe labours, and dismissed them extremely dissatisfied, without giving them either meat or drink. The next day he summoned them again, and when the soldiers only expected a repetition of their fatiguing labours, they were not a little surprized to find a rich and most plentiful entertainment prepared, consisting of every dainty they could wish. "Which life do you prefer," said Cyrus to them, "that of yesterday, or that of this day?" "It admits of no doubt," exclaimed they all. "Well then," subjoined Cyrus, "follow me, and you shall continually lead the life of to-day; but if you refuse, you must return to that of yesterday, under the government of the Medes."

He then entered the kingdom of his grand-father at the head of this army, which he had inspired with enthusiasm. Astyages had the imprudence to entrust the command of his troops to Harpagus, who suffered himself to be twice defeated, and exulted in telling the king of Media, when made prisoner, that it was he who had planned the re-

volution, in revenge for the abominable repast which he had caused to be served up to him.

The life of Cyrus, as related by Herodotus, is filled with the marvellous to its close. He makes him engage in an expedition against Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ, whose son he defeats and kills. The queen takes the field to avenge his death, and defeats and kills Cyrus. She causes his dead body to be brought to her, and cutting off his head, throws it into a vessel filled with human blood, exclaiming: "Glut thyself, barbarian, with that blood, after which thou hast so insatiably thirsted."

Xenophon, in his life of Cyrus, holds a middle course between history and fable. He is suspected of having intended to give lessons for princes, in a romance founded on facts. According to him, Cyrus was, indeed, the son of Cambyfes and Mandane, but was educated by them from his infancy in Persia, and presented at the age of twelve years to his grand-father. He made himself extremely agreeable at the court of Media, and made his first campaigns so much to his honour, that Cyaxares II. the successor of Astyages, being obliged to engage in a war against the king of Armenia, gave his nephew the command of his troops. Cyrus imposed a new tribute on this prince, which he refused to pay. From that time, the uncle and the nephew lived on the most friendly terms, and were associated in their wars and victories. They

True History. Cyrus,
2490.

commanded together the allied army at the famous battle of Thymbra, which decided the fate of Crœsus king of Lydia.

Battle of
Thymbra.

The army of Cyrus is said to have amounted to a hundred and ninety-six thousand men, cavalry and infantry; with three hundred chariots armed with scythes, drawn by four horses abreast; a great number of larger chariots carrying each a tower eighteen feet high, containing twenty archers, and drawn by sixteen oxen yoked abreast. There was likewise a considerable number of camels, on each of which were mounted two Arabian archers. It is indeed difficult to conceive how sixteen oxen yoked abreast could be guided; or how towers eighteen feet high could be carried in chariots. This description, however, sufficiently explains to us the cause of the prodigious carnage made in battles, according to the ancient historians: when an army having all these incumbrances was once thrown into confusion, it must have been as difficult to fly as to make a defense, and the dead must have been heaped up in piles. Crœsus, after this battle, was made prisoner by the capture of Sardes, the capital of his dominions, and Cyrus replaced him on the throne, after having caused him to be taken down from the pile, on which he had condemned him to expire in flames.

Taking of
Babylon.

Sardes being taken, Cyrus turned his arms against Babylon, which had been lately fortified by Nitocris, and took it by stratagem; for having

turned the course of the Euphrates, he entered the city by the bed of the river, and destroyed it to the foundations.

At the time foretold by the prophets for the end of the captivity of the Jews, Cyrus, without knowing that he did so, executed the divine decree. He permitted, by a solemn edict, all the Jews who were captives in his dominions to return to Jerusalem, and rebuild the temple. He accompanied this indulgence with pecuniary aid, and restrained the malevolence of the Samaritans, who, from a mean jealousy, wished to prevent the Jews from re-establishing themselves in their country.

Return of
the Jews
from capti-
vity, 2463.

Cyrus, after the death of his uncle Cyaxares, united the kingdoms of Media and Persia, and left them to Cambyfes his eldest, bestowing on Smerdis, his other son, some considerable governments. We have related in the history of Egypt the cruelties and devastations committed by Cambyfes, in his war against that kingdom. The taking of Pelusium, a frontier town, and the key of Egypt, secured to him the conquest of the country. He obtained possession of it by stratagem. Knowing that the garrison was composed almost entirely of Egyptians, with whom certain animals were sacred, he caused the soldiers who mounted to the assault to drive before them a number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals, which the Egyptians dared not hurt, and by this means obtained possession of the city.

Cambyfes,
2470.

Campaign
against
Ethiopia.

Having thus made himself master of Egypt, his ambition led him to conquer Ethiopia; and with that view he sent into the country, under the title of ambassadors, spies loaded with presents. The emperor of Ethiopia received them, and said to them: "I know your intention. If your sovereign were wise, he would be contented with what he has obtained, and not seek to load with chains a prince who has done him no injury. Carry to him my bow," added he, bending it before them, "and tell him I advise him not to make war till his Persians are able to draw a bow like this as easily as I do. In the mean time, let him thank the gods, that they have never prompted the Ethiopians to wish to extend the limits of their empire."

This message of defiance irritated Cambyfes, and, without provisions, or taking the necessary precautions, he began his march for Ethiopia, a country rendered inaccessible by the sandy deserts which surrounded it. He was quickly in want of provisions, water, and every necessary. He continued to advance, however, in the hope of reaching a cultivated country. His soldiers fought for the few blades of grass they could find, killed, and ate their beasts of burthen, and were at last reduced to prey on each other. They drew lots, and every tenth man was devoted to furnish sustenance to the rest. Cambyfes was then compelled to retreat, and brought back a small troop of emaciated wretches, more like skeletons than men, instead of

the numerous army with which he set out. Another army which he had sent at the same time to pillage the temple of Jupiter Hammon perished, no doubt, in the sands, as no intelligence what became of it was ever received.

It was then that the ferocious character of Cambyfes, soured by misfortunes, impelled him to commit cruelties which rendered him the execration of the Egyptians, whom he relentlessly oppressed; and afterwards of his own subjects, the witnesses and victims of his barbarity. His brother Smerdis, who had no resemblance to him, became the object of his jealousy and his suspicions; and he caused him to be assassinated by Prexaspes his principal favourite. Love entered into the heart of this monster, but only to shew its ferocity. He had a sister, named Meroe, whose charms had excited his passion. The custom of intermarrying with sisters was not then established in Persia; he, therefore, summoned the magi, and asked their advice; and they, placed between the sword of the tyrant and the public esteem, which an answer too favourable to his criminal intentions might make them forfeit, extricated themselves from the dilemma with some address. "There is not," said they, "any law which authorizes a brother to marry a sister, but there is one which permits an emperor to act according to his good pleasure." Meroe was thus consigned to his arms.

Cruelties of
Cambyfes.

She was mild and compassionate, and her sensi-

bility was her destruction. She was one day present at a combat between a lion and a dog, in which, when the latter was almost overpowered, another dog of the same litter rushed upon the lion and saved him. This spectacle entertained the king; but turning towards his sister, now his wife, and perceiving her eyes moistened with tears, he asked her why she wept. "Alas!" said she, with artless simplicity, "there was none to save my brother Smerdis." The brutal monarch immediately gave her so violent a kick, that being pregnant she died soon after.

Prexaspes, who had executed the sentence passed on Smerdis, was punished by Cambyfes himself for his base compliance. He enquired of his favourite what the Persians said of him in their private conversations. "They admire," replied he, "a great number of excellent qualities, but they think you are a little too much addicted to wine." "That is," said the king, "they imagine that wine deprives me of the use of my faculties and limbs; of that you shall judge for yourself." He then began to drink to a greater excess than usual; and when extremely intoxicated called the son of Prexaspes, and ordering him to stand at a distance, with his left hand over his head, took his bow and discharged an arrow at the youth, who fell dead on the spot. He then caused his body to be opened before his father, and shewed him that the arrow had pierced the

centre of the heart. "You will confess now," said he, "that those do me injustice who pretend that wine takes from me the use of my faculties."

After this act of cool and deliberate cruelty, we shall no longer be astonished that he caused some noblemen of his court to be buried alive. Not a day passed in which he did not sacrifice some person to his vengeance, or his caprices. Cræsus, the friend of Cyrus, frequently attended at the court of his son, where he was much esteemed, yet Cambyfes on some occasion commanded that he should be put to death. Those who had received these orders, supposing that when the king had recovered from his intoxication he would repent what he had done, suspended the execution. As they had conjectured, he the next day asked for Cræsus. They informed him of the orders he had given the preceding evening; and when he testified the greatest sorrow and regret, they discovered to him that they had not executed them; at which he expressed the utmost joy, but caused them to be put to death for having disobeyed him. Probably he would have punished them in the same manner had they executed his orders.

An accident put an end to these horrid barbarities. Cambyfes returned from Egypt into Persia to quell a revolt which had been excited by Patizithes, a chief of the magi, to whom when he left Persia he had confided the government. Patizithes

His death.

had a brother who greatly resembled Smerdis, and who was, perhaps, on that account called by the same name. As soon as he was fully assured of the death of that prince, knowing how odious Cambyfes was become to his subjects, he placed his brother on the throne. The king set out to suppress the rebellion, which gave him great uneasiness, because he had dreamed that Smerdis drove him from the throne. While passing through Ecbatana, a small town in Syria, his sword, slipping out of the scabbard as he was mounting his horse, wounded him in the thigh. When he learned the name of the place, he despaired of life, because an oracle had foretold that he should die at Ecbatana; which he understanding of Ecbatana in Media, constantly avoided that place, but was overtaken by his fate at this town of the same name, according to the prediction of the oracle. He caused his principal nobles to be assembled; assured them, with the concurrent testimony of Prexaspes, that his brother Smerdis was certainly dead; and earnestly conjured them not to submit to the impostor, but to place one of themselves upon the throne. They gave no credit, however, to this assertion, which they considered as only proceeding from the hatred he still retained to his brother, and acknowledged the Smerdis who had seized the reins of government for their sovereign.

Smerdis the
Magus,
2477.

The counterfeit Smerdis was injured by his ex-

cessive precautions. He seemed to fear discovery, and this alone was sufficient to excite suspicion. He had married all the wives of Cambyfes, and among the rest Atossa his sister. She could not but know the person of her brother, and hopes were entertained that by her means it might be discovered whether her new husband was the real Smerdis. But all these women were separated, and not suffered to have any communication with each other, so that Phedyma, the daughter of Otanes, one of them, whom her father, one of the principal nobles of Persia, had desired to make enquiry of Atossa, replied, that it was not possible to approach that princess. This afforded new cause for suspicion. There remained but one means of ascertaining the truth. Cyrus had caused the ears of Smerdis the magus to be cut off, for certain crimes; and Phedyma was directed by her father to endeavour to discover, whether the reigning sovereign had lost his ears. While he slept with her, she made the dangerous experiment, by feeling his head, and satisfying herself of the mutilation. She soon informed her father of the discovery, who communicated it to three of his friends, with whom three others associated, and all bound themselves by oath to revenge the honour of the throne, and drive from it the impostor.

The testimony of Prexaspes had been favourable to the usurper, because, gained over by the magi, he had declared that he had saved Smerdis,

notwithstanding the orders of Cambyfes; and when the murmurs of the people began to give alarm to the impostors, the two magi wished again to support themselves by evidence from which they had at first derived such advantage. Prexaspes apparently consented to their request, and ascended a high tower, either that he might be the better heard, or in consequence of some commotion among the populace, or from premeditated design. He thus harangued the multitude: "Good people, I acknowledge that I was compelled by Cambyfes to kill his brother, and I ask pardon for the deed of gods and men. He who now occupies the throne is Smerdis the magus." He then threw himself from the tower, and died by the fall. The conspirators took advantage of the commotion excited among the people, and forcing the palace, killed the two brothers. The vengeance of the multitude extended to all the magi that could be found, whom they massacred in the first moments of their fury.

Darius
Hystaspes,
2477.

The sovereign authority ought naturally to have remained with the seven conspirators, who immediately assembled and deliberated. Otanes proposed to refer the power to the people; Megabyzus was for an aristocracy; and Darius declared for a monarchical government, and carried it. They agreed that one of them should be king. "I consent to it," said Otanes, "since you have resolved so; but I will not be a competitor for a

“dignity which I abhor. I give up to you all my
“rights; and only request to be suffered to re-
“main in a state of independence, and that this
“privilege may be extended to my children.”
This was granted, with many other honours,
which his posterity continually enjoyed.

The competitors proceeded to discuss the form
of the election; but not being able to agree on the
mode, they wished to give the honour of it to the
sun, which they adored, and determined that on
the next day they should repair to a certain place,
and that he whose horse should first neigh at the
rising of the sun, should be acknowledged king.
The groom of Darius, to secure his master's elec-
tion, took a mare to the place of rendezvous, and
led his master's horse to her. The animal when
he came to the same place the next day at sun-
rising immediately neighed, and Darius was saluted
emperor of Persia.

Almost immediately on ascending the throne he
gave a great example of severity in the person of
Intaphernes, one of the seven conspirators. This
nobleman imagining, no doubt, that he might take
the same liberty with the sovereign as with a private
individual, attempted to enter the palace at an unsea-
sonable hour. The eunuchs refused him admittance,
and he cut off their nose and ears. Darius caused him
to be seized, and condemned him to death with all
the males of his family. Before the execution, the
wife of Intaphernes besieged the gates of the pa-

lace, and solicited a pardon with violent clamours. The king, moved by her importunity, told her to choose whom she wished to save, without even excepting her husband. But this tender wife chose her brother: "Because," said she, "a second marriage may give me another husband, and other children; but my father and mother being dead, I cannot have another brother." Darius granted her the life of her son likewise, and put to death all the others.

Desperate
act of the
Babylonians.

His first war was against the Babylonians. This people could not pardon the Persians for having removed their capital to Susa; and were still more irritated at seeing themselves oppressed with taxes by their conquerors. They resolved, therefore, to shake off the yoke. Darius attacked them, and shut them up in the ruins of their ancient city, which they had put in a state of defense. They had with them a considerable quantity of provisions; and to make them hold out, they took the most desperate and cruel resolution that has ever been recorded in history; which was, to exterminate all useless mouths. They collected their women, children, and aged persons, and, deaf to the voice of blood and affection, strangled them all.

Fidelity of
Zopyrus.

They had defended themselves during twenty months, and perhaps would have wearied out the patience of Darius, when from the top of their walls they beheld a man hastening towards them, and extending his suppliant hands. They opened

their gates, and saw an unhappy wretch whose nose and ears had been cut off, whose body was covered with bruises, and whose bleeding wounds inspired equal pity and horror. "I am Zopyrus," exclaimed he, "this is the condition to which Darius has reduced me for having spoken in your favour." The Babylonians received him with confidence, and being acquainted with his great abilities placed him at the head of their troops. He made a sally and cut in pieces ten thousand Persians, and afterwards four thousand more. These successes procured him the guard of the city-walls, but they had been concerted with Darius, to whom Zopyrus had made this sanguinary sacrifice to procure him possession of the city. In fine, an assault which had been agreed on between them, rendered the Persian monarch master of Babylon. He caused three thousand of the inhabitants who were most guilty to be impaled, and pardoned the rest. These must have been very numerous, since the emperor ordered the neighbouring provinces to furnish the Babylonians with fifty thousand women, to supply the place of those who had been strangled as useless mouths. The fate of the old inhabitants certainly could not inspire the new ones with much confidence. Darius retained Zopyrus at his court, loaded him with honours and riches, but could never look on him without shedding tears.

War against
the Scy-
thians.

Two other expeditions signalized the reign of Darius, one against the Scythians, and the other against the Greeks. The Persian monarch assigned as a pretext for the former, the invasion which the Scythians two hundred years before had made of Asia. He raised an army of seven hundred thousand men, passed the Bosphorus of Thrace over a bridge of boats, and was joined by his fleet by the way of the Danube. He crossed this river over another bridge of boats, and entered Scythia. The Scythians had filled up all the wells and fountains, and destroyed all the forage. Retiring slowly before the Persians, they endeavoured to harass them, and engage them in situations where they could attack them with advantage. Darius perceived the snare, and retreated in time; happy to find in his flight the bridges still standing which he had passed when he entered the country with all the pride of a conqueror certain of victory.

War against
the Greeks.

Herodotus speaks of an invasion of India by Darius, and tells us that he rendered it the twentieth province of his empire. This success, if he ever really obtained it, must have rendered more poignant the disgrace he suffered in Greece. When we enquire into the cause of the animosity that reigned between the Greeks and the Persians, and which, contrary to all appearances, ended in the ruin of the latter, we shall find that it had its origin in the pride of the Persian lords who com-

manded on the frontiers of the Grecian territories. In the pride of their wealth they despised a people then so poor; and, as subjects of the Great King, contemned the citizens of small republics. What indeed, in the eyes of a Persian general, must have been the kings of some countries which would have appeared but as a point in the empire of his master? Such comparisons rendered the commanders and governors haughty, and the youth of their court insolent.

Amyntas, king of Macedonia, experienced this insolence; but he was well avenged. Megabyzus, the lieutenant of Darius, after having subjugated Thrace, sent seven young noblemen to him to demand *earth and water*; that is to say, the homage of a vassal. They arrived as conquerors, were honourably received, lodged in the palace, and magnificently entertained. But good cheer alone was not sufficient for them; they demanded that the king should introduce to them his concubines, wives, and daughters. Though this was not customary, the good king, fearful of rendering them his enemies, granted their request. They made, however, but an ill return for the favour, as they behaved to the women with great indecency. Alexander, the king's son, observing this, caused his mother and sisters to leave the hall on some pretext, promising they should soon return. But, in their stead, he brought in some young men, dressed like women, with daggers concealed under

their drestes. These, the moment the Persians began to take liberties with them, drew their weapons, and murdered them all. Megabyzus, notwithstanding his haughtiness, seemed not to be informed of this adventure, and no notice was taken of it.

Never was there a war which shewed more clearly, than the long contest between the Greeks and Persians, what may be effected by the horror of slavery and the love of liberty, when presented to men in all their energy, and rendered as it were natural by the thirst of vengeance. Could we imagine that kings would have resigned their crowns into the hands of their people, to engage them with more ardor to defend their liberty, become by equality a common good both to the chief and his subjects? Aristagoras, king of Naxos, had this courage; and not only laid down the sceptre, but flew to the neighbouring isles, and engaged their kings to imitate him, being determined to support unto death the vigorous opposition in which he had engaged against the Persians.

In fact, though menaced by armies of eight or nine hundred thousand men, and by fleets of four or five hundred vessels, the Greeks did not suffer themselves to be intimidated, but fought continually. When driven by numbers from the land, they embarked on the sea; and when driven from the sea, regained the land. They sometimes had the audacity to burn cities in the heart of the

enemies' country. Wherever the king of Persia was attacked by his enemies, though on his opposite frontiers, he there found the Greeks; in whatever court he conducted negotiations, his affairs were perplexed and thwarted by the Greeks. Darius, fatigued with what he considered as a persecution, less, doubtless, to aid his recollection, than to shew a determined hostile disposition, ordered, that, every day, when he sat down to table one of his officers should cry aloud three times, "O king, remember the Athenians!"

He resolved utterly to crush them with an army of a hundred and ten thousand of his best troops, which he sent against them. The Athenians, in number only ten thousand, but commanded by Miltiades, waited for them firmly, in the plains of Marathon, ten leagues from Athens. The Athenians attacked, and the action was fierce and bloody. The Persians were entirely defeated; and the conquerors found among their baggage marbles, which they had brought to erect a monument of their victory, and chains intended to bind the vanquished. The generals of Darius, to soften his disappointment, or to diminish their own shame, sent to him, at Susa, prisoners which they had taken on this occasion, as if the victory had been partial, and might be claimed by both armies. Darius, whether it were that he had discovered the truth, or from humanity, received the

Battle of
Marathon.

Greek captives with lenity, and assigned them agreeable habitations in Susiana.

Still, however, he retained his resentment against Athens, and his desire to satisfy it. He continued, during three years, to collect troops, ships, and provisions for an army, of which Asia, except in the fabulous times of Ninus and Semiramis, had never poured forth the equal. When he was ready to set out, the grandees of his court represented to him that before he departed on so dangerous an expedition, in which he might be so long absent from his kingdom, it would be prudent to name a successor. He hesitated in his choice between Artabazanes, his eldest son, who was born before he became king, and Xerxes, who was born after he had ascended the throne, and who was, besides, the son of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus. These reasons determined Darius in favour of Xerxes, whom he named his successor, and died soon afterwards. Darius was endowed with excellent qualities. The ancients have highly extolled his wisdom, clemency, and justice. He established the empire of Cyrus, which the bad conduct of Cambyfes, and the usurpation of the counterfeit Smerdis, had shaken; and he enlarged the boundaries of his dominions, by adding to them India, Thrace, Macedonia, and the isles of the Ionian sea.

Xerxes,
2514.

Xerxes continued the preparations that had

been begun by his father. He first tried his strength against Egypt, which he subdued. In the mean time, independent of the levies he made throughout his immense dominions, he laboured to excite on all sides enemies against the Greeks. He made an alliance with the Carthaginians, who, besides the soldiers of Italy and Africa, raised for him three hundred thousand in Spain and Gaul. This army was intended to attack the maritime parts of Greece, on the one side, while the Asiatics invaded it on the other.

His expedition against Greece.

All these armies together, historians make to amount to two millions six hundred and forty-one thousand fighting men; and reckoning the eunuchs, women, servants, futtlers, and other followers, to at least five millions. His fleet consisted of thirteen hundred ships of war, and three thousand transport-vessels.

Xerxes, when he reviewed his troops, was with Artabanus, his uncle, who had never approved the project of invading Greece, of which he feared the issue.—“ Well,” said the king to him, “ can you now still doubt of success?” “ My fears are still the same,” replied Artabanus: “ two things especially excite them; the sea and the land: the land, because there is no country that can furnish provisions so numerous; and the sea, because there are few ports capable of containing so great a number of ships.”—This was a sage reflexion, but of little utility when ad-

ressed to a presumptuous prince,—“ In great enterprizes,” replied Xerxes, “ we ought not to consider so minutely all the inconveniences to which they may be exposed.” Yet the maintenance of so great a multitude, and the safety of such a number of ships, were no trifling objects:—but he was incapable of entertaining doubts.

In order to avoid the tempests frequent in the neighbourhood of the promontory formed by Mount Athos, he caused the isthmus to be cut through; though, at much less expense, his ships might have been drawn over land, as was then usual. But it appeared to him glorious, to leave behind him this memorial of his power. From the same motive of vain-glory, instead of conveying his army from Asia to Europe in ships, he chose to throw a bridge of boats over the Hellespont. This was carried away by a storm; upon which he caused the heads of those who had conducted the work to be struck off; and, by a madness which has rendered his name famous, ordered three hundred stripes to be inflicted on the sea. He also commanded that a pair of fetters should be thrown into it, and that it should be reproached in these words: “ Thou salt and bitter element, thy master has condemned thee to this punishment for offending him without cause; and is resolved to pass over thee in despite of thy billows and insolent resistance.” The army employed seven days and seven nights in passing the

strait, though the men were frequently compelled to quicken their pace by blows. On this occasion a judicious and humane reflexion escaped from Xerxes. As he contemplated with satisfaction this prodigious multitude entirely subject to his power, his eyes were suddenly suffused with tears. Artabanus, his uncle, who stood near him, enquired the cause of this sudden emotion of grief. "I was thinking," replied the king, "that in a hundred years, not one of all this great number of men will remain alive." "That reflexion," replied Artabanus, "ought to induce us to endeavour to render their lives happy, since they must be so short."

Xerxes sent the greater part of his army to ravage Greece—to pillage, burn, and destroy; while himself, with the choicest of his troops, marched against the united forces of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The other Greeks submitted to the yoke on every side. No obstacle remained to his entrance into Attica but the straits of Thermopylæ, a pass five-and-twenty feet in breadth, between the sea and steep mountains. Leonidas, king of Lacedæmon, had undertaken to defend it, with three hundred of his subjects. Xerxes believed that the Spartan firmness could not resist the flattering offers which he made; but Leonidas rejected them with disdain. The Persian monarch sent to require of him earth and water, the usual menacing demand. "Come and take

“ them,” replied the Lacedæmonian. “ But,” said some one to him, “ do you not know that the Persian army is so numerous that if each of the soldiers should only shoot an arrow they would darken the sun ?” “ So much the better,” answered Leonidas, “ for then we shall fight in the shade.” These brave warriors fought till they were killed to the last man. But the Persians bought their victory dearly, for they lost in this battle their best troops. Greece afterwards erected on the spot a sepulchral monument, with this epitaph : “ Stranger, go and tell at Lacedæmon that we fell here in obedience to her just laws.” Every year the eulogium of these heroic defenders of their country was pronounced, and games were celebrated in honour of their memory.

The Athenians did not flatter themselves that the pass of Thermopylæ would defend their country. They had taken the precaution to send away their old men, women, and children, and distribute them in those cities of Greece which were willing to receive them ; leaving the houses of Athens empty, and entrusted to the guard of some citizens, who devoted themselves to this service. Their only fortification was a few wooden palisades ; but they confided in this defense, because the oracle of Apollo had pronounced that “ Athens should be preserved by wooden walls.” They defended themselves to the last extremity, and were all slain.

The remainder of the citizens had retired on board their ships, the wooden walls which, in their opinion, the oracle must really mean. They steered so skilfully among the shallows and islands, that the Persian fleet could not come up with them; and they beat it, first in some partial engagements, and afterwards completely at Salamis. The dispersion was so general, and the defeat so decisive, that Xerxes was fearful he should not be able to preserve a single vessel to carry him from Europe. He made his retreat as expeditiously as possible; and thought himself happy to find a small boat to convey him to Asia.

This success inspired the other Greeks with new courage. They were ashamed of having left the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to support alone the efforts of so enormous a power, and joined the conquerors. The Persians were harassed on all sides. The remainder of their fleet was destroyed at Mycale. The land army ventured a decisive battle at Plataea in Bœotia; when, of three hundred thousand men, if we believe historians, only three thousand escaped. It appears, however, that the power of the Persians was not totally annihilated in Greece; money and intrigue still preserved them an influence in that country, and for a long time assisted the efforts of their arms.

Nothing more would remain to be recorded of Xerxes, had it not been for a fearful tragedy which was enacted in his palace, and in which

he himself had but too great a part. Jealousy was the motive; and the character of the emperor, who knew no moderation in debauchery, furnished an opportunity for that passion to display its cruel effects. Xerxes became enamoured of the wife of Masistes, his brother, though she was no longer young, since she had a daughter who was marriageable. He hoped that he should win the mother, by marrying her daughter to Darius, his eldest son; but this favour did not render the wife of Masistes more compliant to his wishes. Disappointed in this pursuit, he was not ashamed to make love to the young wife of his son, whom he found much more accommodating than her mother. She was even vain of the passion with which she had inspired her uncle. Hamestris, the wife of Xerxes, of an imperious and cruel disposition, imagined that the compliance of the niece, who had thus deprived her of the heart of her husband, had the consent of her sister-in-law, and she resolved to be revenged.

According to a custom constantly observed in Persia, the king, on his birth-day, was bound to grant his queen whatever request she might make. Hamestris required that her sister-in-law might be delivered into her hands. Xerxes, who knew the cruel disposition of his consort, shuddered; but at the same time granted her demand. The unhappy woman was brought to the queen, who caused her nose, ears, and breasts, to be cut off,

and thrown before her eyes to the dogs, and in this mutilated condition sent her back to her husband. Masistes, who tenderly loved his wife, and had even refused her to his brother, agonized with grief, collected all his family, and set out for Bactriana, of which he was governor. The king, fearing his vengeance, caused him to be followed and assassinated with all the companions of his flight. Such a scene of injustice and cruelty must naturally lead us to suspect that many others took place similar to it, which rendered Xerxes odious, and encouraged Artabanus, the captain of his guard, to conspire against him, and endeavour to seize the throne. With the aid of a eunuch, his accomplice, he murdered him in his bed, thus sparing him the lingering death of torture which he deserved.

Xerxes left three sons. Darius the eldest, and Artaxerxes his third son, were at court. Hyf-
Artaxerxes, Longimanus, 2536.
 taspes, his second son, was in his government of Bactriana. In the confusion caused by the death of the king, Artabanus the assassin hastened to Artaxerxes, and said to him: "Darius, your brother, has just murdered your father. He deserves not the crown; you must take it, and avenge your father's death." The young prince, transported with rage, flew to the apartment of his brother, and killed him. Two crimes thus favoured the views of Artabanus; one had rendered the throne vacant; and the other, by the death of the legiti-

mate successor ensured to him the gratitude of the prince who received the crown. A third of greater importance still remained, which was to murder Artaxerxes, and take his place. As to Hyftaspes, who was at a distance from the scene, Artabanus scarcely bestowed a thought on him, and entertained no doubt but he should soon find an opportunity to rid himself of him. Artabanus had seven sons, all brave men, and in possession of the most important offices about the court: he, therefore, entertained great hopes of being able to execute his traitorous project. But Artaxerxes, either suspecting or gaining intelligence of his design, prevented him, by causing him to be cut off, with all his family. The eunuch, who was his accomplice in the murder of Xerxes, expired by the punishment of the boat.

Hyftaspes, though at a distance from the capital, resolved not to resign tamely his claims to the throne, but took up arms in support of his right of primogeniture. The party which Artabanus had formed was powerful, and Hyftaspes had the address to gain it to his side. This junction rendered the forces of the two brothers nearly equal; and in a first battle, the victory was doubtful: but Artaxerxes was successful in a second; and no more was heard of Hyftaspes.

Artaxerxes was the handsomest man in his empire, possessed talents for government, was well acquainted with the abilities of those he advanced to offices, and watched over their conduct. During

his reign there was but one war of importance, that with Egypt, which country revolted, and was again reduced under the Persian yoke. He acted towards the Greeks in such a manner as shewed they were a people he esteemed or feared. He engaged by a solemn treaty not to send any ships of war into their seas ; to keep his armies always at a certain distance from their frontiers ; and especially never to intermeddle in their affairs, but to suffer them to live according to their own laws. This latter clause, however, was frequently violated by the fault of the Greeks themselves, who in their civil dissensions often applied to the Persian governors in their vicinity, to enable them to gain the advantage over their rivals.

This prince gave the rare example of a king who forgot a rebellion, and received at his court the man he had been forced to pardon. Megabyzus received this favour from Artaxerxes. He had taken up arms from indignation, and a desire of vengeance, because the emperor had suffered himself to be persuaded by his mother to crucify a general to whom Megabyzus had promised his life, on condition of his surrendering prisoner. The motive of the rebellion might, perhaps, incline Artaxerxes to clemency ; or he might also be induced to treat with the rebel from his first success, which might make him fear he should obtain greater. But whatever was the motive of this conduct of Artaxerxes, the moderation of the king,

and the confidence of the subject, do equal honour to both.

Xerxes II.
Sogdianus.

Artaxerxes died before he attained to old age, and left seventeen children by his concubines, but only one legitimate son, named Xerxes. This prince had scarcely ascended the throne when he was murdered by Sogdianus, one of his seventeen brothers. Another brother revenged Xerxes by the death of Sogdianus.

Ochus, or
Darius No-
thus, 2568.

The name of this brother was Ochus. He changed it, and is known in history by that of Darius Nothus, or *the Bastard*. He was governed during his whole reign by Parysatis, his sister and wife. One of his brothers, named Arsites, observing the complete success of the attack on Sogdianus, resolved to try his fortune in the same manner. In a battle which was fought on this occasion, Artyphius, the principal general and counsellor of Arsites, was taken prisoner; and Darius proposed to put him to death immediately; but Parysatis advised him to treat him with the greatest kindness, and at the same time to make propositions to his brother: "Your mild treatment of his confidential servant," said she, "will induce him to believe that you will act with still greater clemency towards him, since he is your own brother, and he will not hesitate to surrender himself." Darius followed her advice, and the project succeeded. Arsites threw himself, with confidence, on the mercy of his brother, who was

much inclined to pardon him ; but was prevailed on by Parysatis to put both him and Artyphius to death by smothering them in ashes. This punishment, which was frequently inflicted during this reign, consisted in throwing the wretched victim into a large vessel filled with ashes, which was turned round by a wheel.

Darius was an indolent prince, and lost Egypt, which shook off the Persian yoke, and set up a king. He possessed, likewise, but little influence in Greece, in consequence of a false policy, which induced him to conclude an exclusive alliance with the Lacedæmonians, instead of observing a neutrality with respect to these republics, and furnishing them, on their application, with such succours as might enable them to ruin each other. This conduct was recommended to him by his son Cyrus, whom he had sent to command on the frontiers of Greece, but with very limited orders.

This young prince, the son of Parysatis, proud of the influence of his mother, claimed the prerogatives of the royal tiara as if it were already on his head. He put to death two of his cousins, only because they had not wrapped up their hands in their sleeves when they met him, according to the ceremonial observed by the Persians while in the presence of their kings. This haughty claim, which seemed to imply many other pretensions, irritated his father, who recalled him to court, under the pretext that he was ill. Cyrus, though not without his fears, obeyed the summons, relying on

the ascendancy which his mother had over the king. Nor was he mistaken. She obtained his pardon ; but could not prevail on her husband to declare this her favourite son his successor. In that respect, he adhered firmly to Arfaces his eldest. His refusal ought not to have offended Paryfatis, since Arfaces was likewise her son. He asked his father, when dying, what his conduct ought to be to reign as happily as he had reigned. Darius replied : “ I have always done what religion and justice prescribed to me, without departing from “ either.” He doubtless did not consider as crimes the cruelties he had committed at the instigation of his wife.

Artaxerxes
Mnem.,
2586.

An idea of the weakness of Darius Ochus, in consequence of his attachment to Paryfatis, may be formed from a brief recital of the cruelties she excited him to perpetrate. Arfaces, his son, had married Statira, the daughter of Hydarnes, a Persian of great distinction. He had a son named Teriteuchmes, who, in consequence of the marriage of his sister, espoused Hamestris, the sister of Arfaces, and daughter of Paryfatis. Teriteuchmes became passionately enamoured of Roxana, the sister of Statira, and consequently his own sister. To possess her, he procured the death of Hamestris, and, probably harassed by his guilty conscience, engaged in a rebellion. Udiastes, one of his friends, murdered him. Paryfatis then proceeded to indulge her fierce and gloomy vengeance.

Roxana, whose beauty had been the cause of all this mischief, she caused to be sawed in two, and all the rest of the family of Hydarnes to be massacred, except Statira, whose life she granted to the entreaties of Arsaces her husband. But when Statira had ascended the throne by the accession of Arsaces, who took the name of Artaxerxes, she had Udiastes put to death with the most exquisite tortures.

Artaxerxes, who has been surnamed Mnemon, on account of his great memory, frequently found himself embarrassed between his wife and his mother. The former accused the latter of secretly promoting the designs of Cyrus, her favourite son, who had revolted. The two brothers not only met at the head of their armies in a general battle, but attacked each other, as it were, in single combat. Cyrus perceived Artaxerxes in the centre of the army: "I see him!" exclaimed he, and rushing furiously on his brother, disarmed him, and struck him wounded to the ground. He rose again, and Cyrus wounded him a second time; but at the moment when he raised his javelin to give him the fatal blow, he fell himself, pierced with several arrows. There were Greeks in both armies. Those in that of Cyrus, to the number of ten thousand, commanded by Xenophon, made the admirable retreat described by that writer, and which has always been

considered as a master-piece among military operations.

Paryfatis had not forgotten the insinuations by which Statira had endeavoured to render her an object of suspicion to her son, and to deprive her of his confidence; and a woman who does not forget an injury, will take her revenge when it is in her power. She pretended to be reconciled to her daughter-in-law, and invited her to an entertainment. A rare bird was served up; Paryfatis carved it, and gave one half to Statira, and ate the other herself. It was afterwards discovered, by the slave of Paryfatis, who was put to the torture, that the knife was poisoned on the side which had touched the part given to Statira. Artaxerxes banished his mother, but she had the address to obtain her recal, and regained her influence over him. These two women were equally cruel. If the one caused the object of her vengeance to be sawed asunder, the other flayed alive. They were themselves present at the barbarous executions they commanded; and thought little of the death of their enemies, even of their own sex, unless it was preceded by tortures. The executioners they employed, if they did not satisfy their revenge by refinements in cruelty, were themselves put to death; and when they did, frequently suffered in the same manner, for having dipped their hands in royal blood.

Like his predeceffors, Artaxerxes was engaged in war with Egypt; but he was neither active nor fortunate. During his whole reign he was at war with the Greeks; yet, though there were some important actions, it was, in general, conducted by rencontres, furprizes, captures and recaptures of cities; and efpecially by treaties made and broken, and conventions, in which the Perfians gained, in the end, the advantage, through the fault of the Greeks. Thefe republicans, ever difagreeing, were incapable of purfuing a fixed plan of operations; while the Perfian generals, in confequence of uniform instructions, all concurred to obtain the fame object. It even happened that the hatred and jealousy which prevailed between the different republics procured the great king advantages which he had no reason to expect. Such was the treaty of Antalcidas, the negociator of the Lacedæmonians. Hé gave up to the king of Perfia all the Greek cities of Afia, and the ifles of Cyprus and Clazomenæ. The Lacedæmonians ratified this treaty from their jealousy of Athens, which had been rebuilt and fortified againft them, under the protection of the Perfians. The Spartans, thofe haughty lovers of liberty, facrificed without fcruple that of their countrymen in general to the pleasure of humbling and weakening them as their rivals.

This war with Greece, which was fcarcely ever difcontinued during the reign of Artaxerxes, was

very advantageous to that prince, as it afforded him the opportunity of employing at a distance, and separately, those Persian lords who, had they been together, and at leisure, might have formed designs prejudicial to his tranquillity. By pursuing this policy, he was enabled to live to the age of ninety-four, without any disturbance at his court, though surrounded by a hundred and eighteen sons. Of these, three, Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus, were born of Atossa his lawful wife; the rest were his sons by his concubines, who were almost all his own daughters.

Artaxerxes designed the crown for Darius, the eldest; and the more effectually to secure it to him, permitted him to assume the title of king, and wear the royal tiara, even in his lifetime; but he offended him by refusing him one of his concubines which he had requested of him. Darius, in consequence, conspired against his father, and engaged in his rebellion fifty of his brothers. They placed at their head an experienced nobleman, named Tiribazus, who was likewise discontented, because the old monarch having promised him one of his daughters had taken her himself; and having afterwards promised him another, had taken her likewise. A conspiracy in which so many persons were concerned could not long remain a secret. It was discovered, and Darius was put to death with all his accomplices.

There now remained two competitors for the

throne, Ariaspes and Ochus, to which the old king added a third, whom he favoured, named Arfames, the son of a concubine. Ochus, without troubling himself with remonstrances, got rid of Arfames with the dagger, and immediately after hastening to the apartment of Ariaspes, presented him a cup of poison, threatening that he should expire by the most cruel torments if he did not drink it. Ariaspes swallowed the poison, and died. Artaxerxes, informed of these crimes, died likewise of grief, and Ochus possessed himself of the throne.

But if the barbarian seized it without remorse, ^{Ochus, 2630.} it was not without fear. His father had reigned over his people with justice and clemency; he had been generous, and his authority had been respected. Succeeding to such a prince, Ochus was well convinced that he should not find the same disposition, either in the people or the nobles, to whom he had rendered himself odious by the murder of his brothers. To prevent the effects of this hatred, he gained over the eunuchs and other officers about the person of the king, and prevailed on them to conceal his death. He then assumed the reins of empire, and issued orders, and signed decrees in the name of Artaxerxes. By one of these decrees, he caused himself, in the name of the king, to be declared his successor.

At the end of ten months, having taken, as he believed, all the necessary measures, he declared the death of the king. On this being made known,

one half of the empire revolted from him; and the revolters, could they have agreed together, might have driven him from the throne: but Ochus, equally artful and wicked, succeeded in his attempts to disunite them, and reduced them one after the other. To take, for the future, from the provinces which had revolted, the support of any prince of the royal house, and to deliver himself from the disquietude which those princes might cause to him, he put them all to death, without regard to their age or consanguinity. He caused his sister Ocha, whose daughter he had married, to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his uncles with a hundred of his sons and grandsons, in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to dispatch them with their arrows. Ochus treated with the same barbarity all the nobles who gave him the least umbrage, and never spared one of them who shewed the least sign of discontent.

War with
Egypt.

These cruel precautions did not, however, prevent revolts; but he suppressed them all, and when he found himself firmly seated on the throne, he resolved to render his reign illustrious by some important achievement. Egypt, frequently conquered by the Persians, but never completely subjected, presented a fair field for warlike projects. He entered that country at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men. On his way, he took Sidon, celebrated for its commerce, and its riches, and destroyed it to the foundations. The destruc-

tion of this city spread terror among the Phœnicians. They might have cut off the fleet of Ochus, but the fear with which he had inspired them enchain'd their courage, and they entered into engagements to oppose no obstacle to his enterprise.

His first exploit was the taking of Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt. While he was engaged before this place, one of his generals, with a considerable body of troops, advanced up the Nile into the heart of the country, where Ochus soon after joined him, with the army which he commanded in person. A single battle decided the fate of the kingdom; and in order to deprive the Egyptians of every temptation to shake off the yoke he designed to impose on them, the Persian monarch dismantled all their strong cities, destroyed their government, carried away their archives, pillaged their temples, dispersed and massacred their priests, caused their god Apis—that is, the sacred bull which the Egyptians adored—to be killed, and reduced the whole country to the state of a Persian province. After this expedition, Ochus, having no more enemies to subdue, gave himself up to pleasure and luxury, and left the government to the care of two ministers.

One of these, the eunuch Bagoas, was an Egyptian, who could not see the ruin of his country without extreme regret. As he was much attached to his religion, the severities exercised by

Ochus in order to destroy it, notwithstanding all his entreaties that it might be spared, had excited in him the deepest resentment. He secretly bought up the archives, and as many of the ornaments of the temples and objects of worship as he could procure, and sent them back into Egypt. The indignities offered to the divinities of Egypt, and especially the murder of the god Apis, Bagoas believed could only be expiated by the death of Ochus, and he poisoned him; and afterwards, by a puerile refinement of revenge, but worthy of an enthusiastic devotee, he caused another body to be buried instead of that of the king; and as that monarch had made his soldiers eat the god Apis, Bagoas hashed up the flesh of the royal carcase, and gave it to be eaten by dogs and cats, which were Egyptian divinities. Of his bones he made handles for swords and knives.

Artes.

He placed on the throne, Artes, the youngest son of the king, causing all the others to be put to death. Bagoas permitted this prince only to possess the shadow of authority, reserving to himself all the power. He had chosen the youngest of the princes as his puppet, that he might the longer enjoy the authority he exercised in his name. But Artes beginning to perceive the slavery in which he was held, and taking measures to free himself from it, Bagoas poisoned him, and exterminated his whole family, that there might not remain any avenger.

In an obscure retreat lived a straggling offspring of the royal race of Darius Nothus, who had escaped the sword of Ochus. He was named Codomannus. Under the late reign he had carried dispatches to the governors of provinces; which was, perhaps, a confidential office, though conferring no great dignity on the person employed. He was in the army in the expedition made by Ochus against the Cadusians, when one of the latter, of a gigantic stature, challenged the Persians to send a champion against him. Codomannus advanced, and killed the Cadusian. This courageous action procured him the government of Armenia. Bagoas was well acquainted with his mildness and moderation; and flattered himself that he should retain under him the whole authority. He accordingly raised him to the throne; and he took the name of Darius. But the jealous minister, not finding him more compliant than Arses, resolved to treat him in the same manner he had the latter. The king gained information of his intentions, and compelled him to drink the poison which he had prepared for him.

Darius III.
Codomannus, 2654.

Darius Codomannus reigned prosperously about fifteen years, respected by his nobles, whom he restrained within the limits of good order without offending them; and beloved by his people, whom he governed with mildness, and whose happiness he promoted as much as was in his power. His court, very different from that of his predecessors,

was a model of morality and virtue, under the inspection of Sifygambis his mother, a princess brought up in the school of misfortune, since she was sister to the hundred unfortunate victims whom the barbarous Ochus caused to be pierced with arrows, together with their father, in the courtyard of his palace. Statira, the wife of Darius, a princess of great beauty, was attached to her husband by the double bond of conjugal and fraternal tenderness. Under their eyes were brought up two princesses, who were advancing from the indeterminate beauties of childhood to the more regular graces of mature age; and a son aged six years, educated in the expectations of one day enjoying the exalted fortune of his father.

The mild government of Darius had the fault of wanting the firmness necessary to connect the different parts of the empire by a reciprocity of succour, which might render the whole indissoluble. Every governor was almost absolute master in his own province; and Darius, when it was necessary that a general effort should be made, experienced that the too great confidence of the chief, and his too great goodness, are sometimes more disadvantageous to the public felicity than rigor and the excess of distrust. Is it decreed by fate that the revolutions of empires should almost always take place under the best and most amiable of princes?

Passage of
the Grani-
cus, 2665.

While Darius enjoyed in his court an uninterrupted serenity of fortune, he scarcely knew that

there appeared at the edge of his horizon a small but dark and menacing cloud, which was shortly to overshadow his whole empire. Philip, king of Macedon, a kingdom on the borders of Greece, had, from his proximity to that country, chosen to take part in the quarrel which had for so long a time subsisted between the Persians and the Greeks. The Macedonians were a warlike nation; and the policy of Philip induced him to conceive the bold project of forming a league between the states which had been harassed and oppressed by the Persian satraps, and to go with them to carry war into the heart of that vast empire. Every thing was ready for this expedition, but at the moment it was to set out, Philip died. Alexander his son took his place. His genius was ardent, incapable of abandoning an enterprize, intrepid, inflexible, full of confidence, and capable of inspiring it into others, giving at once the command, and exhibiting the example.

He displayed all these qualities at the first outset. The Persians opposed him with a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; while Alexander, at the utmost, had not more than thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse; but these were the chosen troops of Greece, inured to the hardships of war, and excellently disciplined. The Persians waited for the invaders on the banks of the Granicus, which were covered with their troops. Alexander, disregarding all the pruden-

tial advice of his officers, threw himself into the river at the head of his cavalry, passed it by swimming, and arrived, among the first, at the opposite bank, which was extremely steep. He made his way up it, and was followed by his soldiers. A furious combat then commenced. In the heat of the action, he perceived Spithrobates, the intended son-in-law of Darius, and rushed towards him. The two rivals engaged. The Persian hurled his javelin without effect, and ran on the Macedonian sword in hand. The latter received him with coolness, and at the moment he saw him raise his arm to strike with his sabre, pierced him with his lance. At the same moment, Rosaces, the brother of Spithrobates, discharged so furious a blow with a battle-ax on the helmet of Alexander, that he beat off his plume, and slightly wounded him. As he was about to repeat his blow, Clitus, a Macedonian officer, by a back-stroke with his sabre, cut off the hand of the Persian, and saved the life of his master. This kind of duel decided the victory, and the Persians fled on all sides.

There only remained on the field of battle a small body of Greeks, all of whom Alexander put to the sword, as an example to those who should hereafter be tempted to bear arms against their countrymen. Those who are so disposed may believe that a victory so well disputed cost the Macedonians only a hundred and fifteen men, both in cavalry and infantry, while the Persians lost thirty-six

thousand infantry, and two thousand five hundred horse. Alexander caused Lyfippus, the most able sculptor in Greece, to make the statues of five-and-twenty Macedonians, who had principally distinguished themselves, and been killed in the passage of the river. Become thus master of that part of the country, he permitted his troops to pillage, the most pleasing reward of the soldier. Terror preceded him; and many cities capable of resistance sent him their keys before they were attacked. He made them acknowledge his authority, but did not plunder or oppress the inhabitants. He thus gained a number of strong posts, of use either to secure his retreat, or if successful to enable him to extend his conquests.

The intelligence of this invasion, which now Description of the Persian army. began to assume a serious aspect, induced the council of Darius to resolve to raise as large an army as possible, in order to overwhelm with numbers an enemy whose courage seemed otherwise to render him invincible. If the historians who have transmitted to us the description of this army have not intended to give us the episode of a romance, rather than a narrative of facts, it exhibited a pomp, luxury, and magnificence, of which there has never since been any example.

At the head of it were carried altars of silver, on which the sacred fire was kept burning. The magi followed singing hymns. They were accompanied by three hundred and sixty-five youths

clad in purple robes. After them came the car of Jupiter, and the courser of the sun, conducted by equerries, each with a golden wand in his hand. Next appeared ten sumptuous chariots, enriched with curious sculptures in gold and silver; after which came a body of cavalry composed of troops of twelve different nations, all armed differently, and ten thousand infantry called *the Immortals*; because if any of them died, his place was immediately supplied by another. They wore collars of pure gold, and were clothed in robes of gold tissue, having large sleeves richly ornamented with precious stones. Fifteen thousand of the king's *cousins*, or relations—probably a title of dignity—still more richly attired even than the immortals, preceded the monarch, who was perceivable from afar being seated in a chariot in the form of a throne, resplendent with gold and precious stones. On either side of the king walked two hundred of his nearest relations, followed by ten thousand horsemen, whose lances were plated with silver, and tipped with gold. Twenty thousand foot formed the rear-guard, followed by the led horses of the king to the number of four hundred.

At a little distance, next came Sisygambis, the mother of the king, in one chariot, and his queen in another, with a numerous train of female attendants on horseback; and fifteen large chariots, in which were the children of the king, and those charged with the care of their education. Next

to these came the royal concubines to the number of three hundred and sixty, all attired like queens. They were followed by six hundred mules, and three hundred camels, which carried the royal baggage and treasure, escorted by a numerous guard of archers. This pageant march was closed by a great number of chariots, in which were the wives of the officers of the crown, and lords of the court, guarded by a body of light troops.

What an incentive to the courage of the Macedonians ! and what imprudence to offer to invading soldiers the temptation of so rich a booty ! But Darius was guilty of still greater imprudence. Instead of waiting for Alexander in the plains, where he might have surrounded him, he attacked him in a narrow pass in Cilicia, shut in on one side by the sea, and on the other by steep mountains. The nature of the place forced Darius to draw up his soldiers one behind the other ; and this order of battle, and this position, decided the victory in a moment. The first ranks being broken by the Macedonians, threw the second into disorder, and so successively, till the confusion and rout became general. Twenty thousand Greek auxiliaries in the pay of the Persians, however, shook the Macedonian phalanx, and continued the battle with the greatest obstinacy ; nor could Alexander force them to give way till they were reduced to no more than eight thousand, when they retreated in good order to the ships that had brought them.

Battle of
Issus, 2667.

The remainder of the army, seized with terror and dismay, fled precipitately over the rocks, and left the pass open to the conqueror.

Interview
between
Alexander
and Sify-
gambis.

Darius with difficulty escaped : his treasure, mother, wife, and daughters, and those of his officers, together with all the baggage which had been sent before to the city of Issus, fell into the power of the conqueror. One of the greatest painters France has produced, has taken his pencil from the hand of history to represent the interview between the Macedonian hero and this wretched family. He has portrayed the unfortunate Sifygambis, steeped in calamity from her youth, presenting as a suppliant her daughter and her children to the compassion of the youthful conqueror. Statira, with her eyes swollen with tears, seems to offer to turn away her head that she may not see the author of her woes, but an obliging gesture from Alexander recalls her, and she casts on him a timid and embarrassed look. The prince is astonished at her wondrous beauty ; he appears as if alarmed for himself, and seems to swear to treat her with that respect from which in fact he never afterwards departed.

Sifygambis once imagined that he meant to treat her in a manner unworthy of her : the unfortunate are ever extremely delicate. Alexander had received from Macedon some woollen stuffs, which he sent as a present to the Persian women. They greatly admired them, and he, imagining

that they might be willing to amuse themselves in their solitude by making such kind of stuffs, offered to send some women to them, who would instruct them in their manufacture. He was ignorant that in Persia such kind of work was reserved for women of the lower classes. Sisygambis imagined that the proposal of Alexander was an indirect mode of giving his prisoners to understand that they must expect for the future to be treated as slaves. Violent cries and tears announced their fears and their grief. Alexander was informed of it, and he immediately hastened to Sisygambis, testified the greatest concern for having inadvertently given occasion to her mistake, declaring that far from intending any insult, he had treated her no otherwise than he would have done the princesses, and most distinguished women of his nation: "for," said he, "the stuff which I wear is a present from my sisters, and the work of their hands."

It is consoling to experience in misfortune a treatment so humane. Darius sent his thanks to Alexander for his generous behaviour; but their reciprocal compliments did not prevent the two rivals from pursuing the war to the last extremity. Letters were intercepted, by which the ministers of Darius endeavoured to engage certain Macedonians, by the promise of very great rewards, to take away the life of their king; and Alexander was inclined to suspect that these offers were not

made without the knowledge of the Persian monarch. On the other hand, Alexander rejected with contempt the propositions of Darius, who went so far as to offer him the half of his kingdom.—“I would accept them were I Alexander,” said Parmenio, his principal general: “And so would I, were I Parmenio,” replied Alexander. It is true that the Persian monarch, still proud amid all the humiliations he had experienced, placed this superscription on his letters: “Darius the king to Alexander.”—“Alexander the king to Darius,” was the superscription to the answer of the Macedonian warrior.

After the battle of Issus, fortune constantly favoured every undertaking of Alexander. He humbled the pride of the Syrians; led his army under the burning sky of Syria; made his offerings in the temple of the Jews; received the submission of Egypt; penetrated through the deserts of the Oases; and, if he did not solicit, listened with pleasure to the oracle of Jupiter Hammon, which declared him the son of that God.

During all these expeditions he still carried on a sort of negotiation; or rather Darius offered to give up what he could no longer retain, while Alexander wished to gain all he had not conquered. No peace could be granted unless the Persian monarch would descend from his throne, and acknowledge the king of Macedon for his sovereign. So harsh a condition could not but be

Battle of
Arbela,
2668.

rejected while it was possible to make resistance, and Darius was still in the centre of his empire, at the head of an army as numerous as he had ever had. Alexander had no fears of the event: it is even remarked, that after having made his dispositions, he slept so soundly that it was necessary to awake him to begin the battle.

It took place near Arbela, a city situated on the confines of Persia. Darius shewed his usual valour, and fought bravely for his throne, but he was not supported. The Macedonian phalanx was on the verge of being thrown into confusion, when Aristander, the augur, appeared in the ranks, clothed in his white robe, with an olive branch in his hand, exhorting and encouraging the soldiers. He shewed them, at the same time, an eagle, which hovered over the head of Alexander. Whether they saw it or not, they resumed their courage, rallied, and, making a last effort, gained a complete victory. The whole Persian army dispersed, though if each soldier had only thrown a stone they would have crushed and overwhelmed the Macedonian army.

Darius seeing himself deserted, turned his sword against his own breast; but a moment's reflexion pointed out to him a resource. He reached Arbela, and would not consent that the bridge behind him should be broken down. "I would rather," said he, "risk being made prisoner, than expose to certain death the unhappy men

Destruction
of Perse-
polis.

"who follow me." He soon after placed the mountains of Armenia between himself and the conqueror.

The latter appeared before Persepolis, the capital of Persia, which made no resistance. He delivered up the inhabitants to the mercy of the soldiery, in revenge, because from that city had formerly been issued the cruel resolutions which ordained the devastation of Greece. "It is not enough," exclaimed Thais, the Athenian courtesan, at the conclusion of a licentious entertainment; "it is not enough that you remember that the Persians burnt Athens." She seized a flambeau; Alexander and all the guests followed her, and in a moment the most magnificent edifice in the world was the prey of the flames.

This act, and especially the manner in which it was executed, after a bacchanalian revel, is a great blemish in the life of Alexander. He is likewise reproached with cruelty towards Betis, the governor of Gaza. This warrior had defended himself like a brave man, and delayed the progress of the conqueror. Instead of honouring the fidelity and valour of his enemy, he ordered his heels to be pierced, thongs to be passed through them, and the unhappy captive to be fastened to a chariot, and thus dragged round the city till he was torn to pieces. Did he mean to imitate Achilles, from whom he pretended to be descended, and who dragged in the same manner the body of Hector

round the walls of Troy? Or did he wish to intimidate by this example others who might attempt to resist him? Historians hesitate with respect to which of these was the real motive. The latter, though unhappily too frequent in war, is not on that account more pardonable in the eye of humanity.

Darius, as he fled, collected another army, with which he proposed to make a last effort. But two of his generals, Nabarzanes and Bessus, the latter governor of Bactriana, did not give him time. They formed a plot to seize his person. If Alexander pursued them they resolved to obtain his pardon, and even rewards, by delivering their king into his hands. Should they have time to carry their prisoner into Bactriana, they determined to kill him, and seizing their respective governments cause themselves to be proclaimed kings. Their design, however, was discovered; Patron, the general of the Greeks in the pay of Darius, informed him of the plot, and advised him to set up his tent in their quarter. Overwhelmed by his misfortunes, Darius thanked him, but resolved to resign himself to his fate. "I cannot die too soon," said he, "if the Persians think me unworthy to live." The treason concerted against him was soon carried into effect: the conspirators seized Darius without much difficulty, bound him in chains of gold, as if in honour of

Death of
Darius.

his regal dignity, put him into a covered carriage, and took with him the road to Bactriana.

Alexander, apprized of their intentions, pursued them with so much speed, that he one day found himself with no more than five-and-twenty horsemen. As he advanced he learned, from those who deserted the army, the extremity to which Darius was reduced, and this intelligence induced him to redouble his efforts. At length he came up with them, and, though very inferior in numbers, prepared to attack them. The traitors, that they might be less embarrassed in their flight, wished Darius to mount on horseback, but he refused, on which they pierced him with their darts, killed his attendants, and left the carriage behind them. The horses, having no driver, drew it out of the high road, and stopped near a small village.

A Macedonian, named Polystratus, belonging to the party in pursuit of the enemy, arrived at this village almost expiring with thirst. He requested drink, and was directed to a spring at a little distance. While he was filling his helmet with water, he heard the groans of a dying man, and looking round him saw the wretched monarch, who, on his approaching, made himself known to him, and asked him to give him some drink. Polystratus, with all possible speed, fetched him some water in his helmet, when the dying king looked on the Macedonian soldier, and addressed him

thus: "In the deplorable condition to which I am
" reduced, I have at least the consolation of know-
" ing that my last words will not be lost; I charge
" thee to render to Alexander my sincere thanks
" for all the generous kindness he has shewn to
" my mother, my wife, and my children. I pray
" the gods to render his arms victorious, and
" make him monarch of the world. I do not
" think it necessary to request him to avenge the
" crime of regicide committed on my person:
" it is the common cause of kings." Then, tak-
ing Polystratus by the hand—"Give Alexander,"
said he, "your hand, as I give you mine, and
" thus convey to him the only pledge I am able
" to give of my affection and gratitude." Thus
saying, he expired; and Alexander soon after
came up.

He would doubtless have rejoiced in being able
to save Darius, and perhaps would have restored
him to the throne. Of this the tears he shed are
a proof. He pursued Bessus, without intermission,
through the marshes and forests, and over the
mountains of Bactriana, where he had assumed
the title of king, till at length there was only the
river Oxus between them. Bessus had burnt all
the boats; Alexander, who was never in want of
expedients, took the skins that covered the tents of
his soldiers, and, making them into bags, filled
them with straw. By the aid of these his army
passed over, and put to flight that of Bessus, who

was taken, and, after his nose and ears had been cut off, delivered into the hands of the relations of Darius. They made him suffer a variety of tortures; which were concluded by several trees being forcibly bent to the ground, to each of which one of the traitor's limbs was fastened; they were then suffered to return to their natural position, when they flew back with prodigious violence, tore him asunder, and each carried with it the limb that was tied to it.

By his death, and the submission of the grandees of the kingdom, which secured that of the people, Alexander saw himself in undisputed possession of the whole empire of the Persians.

Heroic Ages.

It is here proper to remind the reader that we commenced the history of Persia at the time when this kingdom was united to that of the Medes. But many ages had elapsed from the deluge to the union of those two empires; and this interval has been filled, by the Oriental authors, with a long succession of reigns, of which they have not given us the dates. It would be unjust to consider as fabulous all the events which they relate; for they say they are taken from ancient chronicles; and it is certain that such chronicles have existed. Why, in fact, should not nations, who had laws and a government, have had also their annals? It may be presumed that the Macedonians destroyed many of them; and others may have become a prey to the ravages of time. But in the sacking or conflagra-

tion of a town, effects are frequently saved which though, it may be, greatly damaged, are not entirely useless. Such are the fragments with which we shall proceed to present the reader.

Cajumaras, which in Persian signifies *the just* Cajumaras. judge, is the first king mentioned in these early annals. His equity attracted the people under his sceptre, even without his seeking their submission; for he was, as it were, forced to take his seat on the throne. He was accustomed to say that "a king, to promote the happiness of his people, is frequently obliged to forego his own." Deeply impressed with the same truth, his son withdrew from the court of his father, and went to live with his wife in a small hermitage, that he might dedicate his time entirely to study. He died there young, and left a son, whom his grand-father placed on the throne. He fell in battle in the prime of his years. Cajumaras, while waiting till the son of the latter should be of age to take the crown, again resumed it, that the wholesome institutions, of which he was the author, might not fall into disuse, for to them the empire was indebted for its happiness and glory.

He again collected and civilized his people. He taught them the art of building, spinning, and weaving; established courts of justice; and is believed to have been the author of the religious worship which, among the Persians, had the sun for its object. Yet, as he is supposed to have

lived near the times of the patriarchs, and perhaps to have been cotemporary with some of them, it is not to be presumed that he wished his subjects to lose the idea of the unity of God: it is much more probable that he endeavoured to fix the imagination of the people, by presenting to their veneration, as an image of the invisible Being, the most glorious of his creatures—the source of all fecundity and of all beauty. It is only by a difficult and uncertain investigation, that we are able to conjecture the time when this prince lived. The most probable opinion makes him reign three or four hundred years after the deluge. The greater part of the princes of this race were distinguished by their beneficent character.

Hus-Hang.

Hus-Hang, his grand-son, invented the instruments of agriculture, taught the Persians to work mines, to convey water through subterraneous passages, and to clothe themselves in furs. He composed a book intituled “*The Wisdom of all Ages.*” Some fragments of it still remain; among which the following may be selected as the most remarkable. “By long converse with men we may know their passions; but we can never discover those of women.” He thence concludes that it is difficult to employ the latter in government. “Marble and alabaster,” says he, “are used in building palaces; but diamonds we lock up in cabinets.” By marble and alabaster he means men, whose solid qualities may be em-

ployed for the public utility, and by diamonds women, adapted only to pleasure and ornament.

The name of his successor indicates great address Tahmurash. and strength. His name, Tahmurash, signifies *the Humbler of the Devil*. He was a conqueror, but not less wise than brave. By the mildness of his government, as much as by his courage, he united nations to his empire. He instituted a gradation of magistracy, and was the first who had a vizier or prime-minister.

What man was ever comparable in beauty to Gjemshid. Gjemshid, that is to say, *the sun*? The qualities of his mind corresponded to those of his body. He invited to his court all those who excelled in any art or science; and by their prudent advice regulated the government of his dominions in such a manner that it subsisted for a long time. He divided his subjects into three classes; soldiers, labourers, and artificers. Instrumental and vocal music was brought to perfection under his reign. He caused granaries and reservoirs of corn to be built, in which he laid up provision for years of famine. A cure performed on a lady of the court rendered the use of wine common: until then it had been considered only as a remedy. This lady, finding herself tormented with a violent pain in the head, went to the place where the king's wine was kept, and drank; and finding herself relieved, drank again, and was cured. The fame of this was circulated abroad; and wine, instead of

being used only as a remedy, as it was before, was drank as a preservative.

Astronomy, which this prince cultivated, was not with him a sterile science: it assisted him to reform the calendar, and fix invariably the civil and religious ceremonies. The new year was announced by a festival, which lasted six days; six days of acts of beneficence and rejoicing. Every person appeared in his turn before the throne to receive some royal favour. On the first day came the class of the common people; on the second, the learned and the artists; on the third, the priests and civil officers; on the fourth, the nobility and relations of the king; on the fifth, his children; and the sixth was the grand day of the festival.

Early in the morning a handsome youth was introduced to the chamber of the king, and to the question of the monarch—"Who are you?" answered, "I am the distributor of blessings; and "I bring you from God the new year." The gates then opened, and the principal nobles entered, bearing each a silver vessel, in which were wheat, barley, peas, vetches, a sugar-cane, and two pieces of gold fresh from the mint. The vizier, the treasurer, and the other officers and great lords, followed, bearing each a vessel. At the conclusion of the ceremony a large loaf, made of several kinds of corn, was placed before the king, who, after eating some of it himself, intreated such as were present to eat the rest: "This

“is,” said he, “a new day of a new month; the beginning of a new year; it is fit, therefore, that we renew our ties to each other.” Then rising up, arrayed in his royal robes, he solemnly blessed his nobility and people, bestowing on them rich presents, and with a loud voice offered up prayers for the general prosperity. A similar ceremony was practised with more or less solemnity in the houses of the grandees of the kingdom, the heads of the government, and in every private family. The modern Persians have not forgotten these customs. They still salute, if we may use the expression, the new year with concerts of music, putting up vows for each other, which they accompany with presents. Those who are convinced of the good effects of uniting men by acts of benevolence, and demonstrations of good-will, will regret that customs so conducive to the maintenance of friendship, and the extinction of animosities, should ever be neglected and lost.

The Persian Solomon concluded like the Jewish, by abandoning himself, in his old age, to all the excesses of voluptuousness, which caused him to lose the esteem of his subjects. From contempt they proceeded to revolt. The unfortunate monarch was taken prisoner in a battle, and the conqueror caused him to be sawed asunder.

The barbarian who gave this inhuman order Dehoc. was named Dehoc; that is to say, *he who has ten ill qualities*. Indebted to violence for his crown,

he governed with a sceptre of iron. Yet his conduct was that of an intelligent and prudent prince, which, say historians, is not surprizing; for Dehoc was acquainted with the black secrets of magic. They describe him as of a meagre and pale visage, with eyes wild and sparkling, an air fierce and haughty, and his whole body extremely deformed. They observe that his natural ferocity was heightened by two extremely painful ulcers which he had, one on each shoulder. The devil, they say, whom Dehoc frequently raised, weary of being continually forced to obey his magical conjurations, asked permission to kiss his shoulders, which being granted, no sooner had the magician uncovered them than a hideous serpent fastened on them, and gnawed itself a den in his flesh. The pain he suffered could only be allayed by washing the wounds with human blood, and applying to them the brains of men newly slain. This horrible remedy, which became known to his people, enraged them against him, and a smith, whose son had been sacrificed to the necessities of the tyrant, began a revolt. The standard he raised was his leathern apron, which he held in his hand, and ran through the city, crying "War and vengeance against the barbarian!" Dehoc was conquered, and expiated his cruelty by a long imprisonment in certain caverns appointed for the punishment of sorcerers. We perceive by this history, that the fable of baths of human blood

employed by princes for the cure of their maladies is not a modern invention.

The smith who had conquered and deposed the Phridun, tyrant, placed on the throne Phridun, the son of Gjemshid, who had been concealed by his mother from the dagger of Dehoc. His reign was happy and illustrious. It is said that he only endeavoured to extend his frontiers to bestow on a greater number of men the happiness which his subjects enjoyed: a truly laudable motive, when unaccompanied with that violence which conquerors always imagine they have a right to employ. When dying he gave his son this advice, which especially merits the attention of all sovereigns: "My son, consider the days of your reign as so many leaves of a book, and act so that nothing may be written on those leaves which you would not wish to be known to posterity."

Manugjahr, his son, profiting by his lessons, Manugjahr, governed like him with prudence and wisdom. He fixed more accurately than had been done by his predecessors the limits of each province, and established in it a governor-general; but every city that was at all considerable had a president or chief, whose authority was independent of that of the governor. Thus their different powers were balanced, and the one was a restraint on the other. Manugjahr laboured with the utmost zeal to promote every thing which might be useful to his people. As the want of water was the principal

cause of the infertility of Persia, he collected all the streams issuing from the springs at the tops of the mountains into reservoirs, which he had dug at the bottom, and from them watered the lands. This prince studied, and practised himself, the operations of agriculture, in order that he might be able to teach them to his people. He applied himself also to discover the properties of herbs, flowers, plants, and the most useful trees; and made nurseries in his gardens, and those of his courtiers, whence they might be procured and multiplied.

Under his reign we find the origin, whether true or false, of the antipathy of the Persians and Turks to each other. Phridun, from policy or other reasons, had married a daughter of the barbarous Dehoc, and had by her a son named Turk, who, like a true descendant of the monster his grandfather, made war on his father. He was defeated, and driven with his partisans into one of the frontier provinces, where they multiplied. But the Persians held them in abhorrence, and would never consent to contract any kind of alliance with them.

Sigistan, the province adjoining to the Turks, was governed by Soham, a vizier much esteemed by the Persian monarch, and who had great influence with him. A son was born to him whom he named Zalzer, that is to say, *golden hair*. This young man, endowed with all the graces of

nature, added to them all the estimable qualities which a distinguished education can bestow. Being one day hunting near the country of the Turks, the governor of that nation, being informed that he was near, went out to meet him, that he might shew his respect to his father Soham, with whose influence at the court of Persia he was well acquainted. The conversation which he had with Zalzer so charmed him, that on his return home he could not refrain from praising him in the most animated expressions. Roudabah, his daughter, listened, and the praises her father so liberally bestowed, inspired her with the warmest desire to be acquainted with the object of them.

She, therefore, sent one of her female attendants to the place where Zalzer was encamped, that she might find an opportunity of speaking to him. The confidante began to gather flowers in the way by which Zalzer was to pass. He met, and entered into discourse with her; when she, according to her instructions, informed him that she was the attendant of Roudabah; highly extolling, at the same time, the beauty, wit, and amiable disposition, of her young mistress, till Zalzer felt himself absolutely enamoured of the unknown fair. In these dispositions it was not long before the two lovers met, and engaged by the most solemn promises to marry each other, as soon as they should obtain the consent of their parents. The aversion of the Persians for the nation of Roudabah was a serious

obstacle ; but the constancy of Zalzer surmounted it, and from his marriage with Roudabah was born Rustan, the most famous hero of the Persian legends of history and romance.

Nudar.

Nudar, the son of Manugjhar, saw his kingdom invaded by the Turks. He defended himself for a long time by the assistance of Zalzer, who put himself at the head of his troops. But the latter general could not prevent the king from being defeated, taken prisoner, and murdered. After his death Zalzer continued the war with less disadvantage, and had the happiness to place the son of the king on the throne which he might have ascended himself.

Zab.

This son was named Zab. He is praised for his œconomy, and the use he made of the treasures he amassed. When he had paid his troops, and defrayed the other necessary expenses, he restored what remained to his subjects. He was during his whole reign disturbed by ambitious malcontents, and at length lost his crown. In him ended the first race of the Persian kings, about the time of Joshua.

Keykobod.

Keykobod, whom some make to have been the son of the good Manugjahr, and others the nephew of Nudar, was placed on the throne by Zalzer, and supported by Rustan, and by a descendant of the smith who deprived the cruel Dehoc of the crown. This Rustan was a kind of knight errant, and is named the *seeker of adven-*

tures. Keykobad was pious and just. He made great roads throughout the empire, and set up stones at the end of every parasang, or distance of four thousand paces.

Keykaus, his son, was likewise under great obligations to Rustan, and gave him in marriage his own sister Gehernaz, whose name signified *endowed with every virtue*. A stratagem procured to this king the conquest of a city, and another stratagem deprived him of his liberty. He formed the blockade of a city which was well supplied with provisions, of which he pretended himself to be greatly in want, and offered to purchase them of the besieged at an extravagant price. The prospect of gain tempted them to sell him a great part of their stock, and famine with which, in consequence, they were attacked soon after, compelled them to surrender. His captivity was the effect of a blind confidence, which a rival prince, his enemy, had persuaded him to place in him. The latter had contrived that he should conceive a passion for Sandabah his daughter, and solicit her in marriage. Keykaus imagined that, during the celebration of the nuptials, he should have nothing to fear from his father-in-law, and gave himself up to his joy without precaution, in consequence of which he was surpris'd and taken prisoner. His wife became enamoured of a son of her husband named Siavek, and attempted to seduce him to gratify her wishes, but he refused; and she in revenge ac-

cused him of having offered violence to her, presenting herself before her husband, with her hair dishevelled, her night-gown torn, and her breast bloody. The credulous Keykaus was about to put his son to death, when the perfidy of his wife was discovered. He would immediately have turned his vengeance against her, but Siavek saved her. The monarch was indebted to this same son, together with Rustan, for the preservation of his crown. But the prince royal did not enjoy the fruit of the success he had obtained, which was gathered by his son, who succeeded to his grand-father.

Key-Chofrau.

The war between the Persians and the Turks still continued; and under Key-Chofrau had equally enfeebled both nations. In his time lived Lokman, the famous Persian fabulist. The accounts which have come down to us of his life so much resemble the history of Æsop, as to induce many to believe that Lokman and Æsop were the same person. We shall here only relate his answer to a person who had asked him by what means he had attained happiness: "Without any great difficulty," replied he; "I have always told the truth; I have constantly kept my word; and I have never meddled with affairs that did not concern me."

Lohrasp.
Gushtasp.

Lohrasp would have been but little known, had it not been for his son Gushtasp, whose life might be made the subject of a romance. Gushtasp re-

volted against his father; but was defeated and compelled to fly into a neighbouring kingdom, where he lived in obscurity and unknown. It was the custom of this kingdom, that when the king wished to marry one of his daughters, public notice was given, and the people assembled in great numbers in an open court, into which the king entered with his daughter, one of whose hands was held in his, and in the other she had a golden apple enriched with precious stones. When they had advanced into the middle of the court, the king loosed his daughter's hand, and the princess presented the apple to the person she chose. Such a ceremony took place soon after the arrival of Gushtasp in this country, and whether the king's daughter knew him without his knowing her, or whether it was the effect of a sudden inclination, she bestowed her apple on him. The king was at first greatly displeased, but the services which his son-in-law rendered him soon obtained his favour. His father, likewise, informed of his merit, pardoned him his revolt, and resigned his crown to him in his life-time.

Under his reign is placed Zoroaster, the insti- Zoroaster.
tutor or reformer of magism. There is great probability that he found the worship of fire already established, and that he only regulated the ceremonies, and prescribed certain laws to the sacred ministers. Before his time, honours were paid to the sun and fire in the open air. He was the first

who erected *pyrea*, or temples, in which the sacred fire was preserved. Like almost all the institutors of religions, he disappeared for a time from among men, to meditate, and no doubt to induce a belief that he had received from God the religion which he taught.

Notwithstanding the obscurity of the Persian annals, we may perceive that there was an understanding between the king and the prophet. Gushtasp observed to Zoroaster that a religion which was divine must be founded on miracles, and that he would not believe in his unless he wrought them. Zoroaster admitted the principle, and proceeded to effect the prodigies required. The king was told that his favourite horse was unable to move, his four feet being contracted close to his belly. Zoroaster consented to cure him, but he required, as we may say, to be paid in advance. He said to the king: "Believe that my religion is of divine authority." He believed, and one leg returned to its natural position. "Let your queen believe," said the prophet. She believed, and another leg was restored. The healing of a third rewarded the faith of their children. In fine, the conversion of all the nobles and people completely cured the horse.

Gushtasp required another miracle, the management of which might be agreed on between the prophet and himself, or some suborned and properly instructed accomplice: "I wish," said the king, "to view the joys of paradise while yet liv-

“ing; to know all things that shall pass till the
“day of judgement; and to be invulnerable and
“immortal:” four requests which, as we perceive, may be granted without much risque, when well understood. “I consent,” replied the prophet; “but so many favours are too much for any
“single man; they must be divided among four
“persons.” The king was chosen for the first of these. He fell asleep, and during three days which his sleep lasted witnessed the joys of paradise, and entertained no doubt of the truth of his vision when he awoke. Zoroaster gave a rose to smell to Gjamasp, the favourite of the king, who was chosen for the second miracle; and he immediately possessed the knowledge of whatever shall be hereafter, without possibility of contradiction. Beshuten, the son of Gushtasp, drank a cup of milk, and became immortal. Isphendiyar ate the kernel of a pomegranate, and was invulnerable, at least according to the assurances of Zoroaster.

The doctrines, however, which these pretended miracles confirmed was wise and rational. They taught the unity of God; his omnipotence; his goodness towards men; a great veneration for fire, the visible type of the invisible divinity; and a great aversion for Ariman, the evil principle, the instigator of evil thoughts, but not co-eternal with God. The morality contained in the books of Zoroaster is very pure, and all founded on the love of our neighbour. Hence the Persees, his disciples,

are the mildest of mankind. They observe, with the greatest exactness, all the ceremonies of his ritual, with a minuteness which might be esteemed ridiculous, could any thing by which mankind may be restrained merit contempt. The priests among the Perses are sober, pious, of exemplary morality, scrupulously observant of their rites, according to the precepts of their legislator, and preserve, as much as they are able, in their present state of subjection, their primitive hierarchy.

A circumstance which may confirm the suspicion that the prophet and the king acted in concert, is the zeal with which the latter exerted himself to make his people embrace the institutions of Zoroaster. This ardour of the monarch occasioned a very obstinate civil war; which is the first war known to have been waged for religion. Zoroaster was the victim of it; some of his enemies, who considered him as the author of the evils which had befallen his country, discovered him in his retreat, and murdered him.

Gushtasp, convinced by his own conduct towards his father what might be that of his children towards himself, employed them in this war, and promised the crown to him who should most distinguish himself. But when the time for bestowing the reward arrived, he found pretexts to defer it; and his sons died without receiving it. Gushtasp, at a very advanced age, resigned, while yet living, his throne to his grand-son.

This prince, whose name was Bahaman, was Bahaman. employed, during his whole reign, in healing the wounds inflicted on his kingdom by the civil wars of his grand-father. He appeared to hold the balance between the sectaries of Zoroaster and their enemies; but in such a manner as to let the scale somewhat incline in favour of the former. He had the address to make his people, so to speak, the confidants of his conduct. Bahaman assembled them, requested their advice, and solemnly engaged to follow it. This deference enchanted the multitude; the warmest thanks were returned him, and Bahaman acted as he thought proper. His eldest son, to whom the crown would have devolved, despised it, and retired into solitude. The father conceived the same disgust at an age not very advanced. He quitted the throne, and left it to his wife Homai, who is supposed to have been also his sister, and who was pregnant. Bahaman frequently repeated this maxim: "The gate of a king ought never to be shut."

When Homai was delivered, the astrologers and Homai.
Da: ab L diviners predicted that the child she had brought forth should prove the scourge of his country, and advised that he should be immediately consigned to death. The tenderness of the mother would not suffer her to consent to such a sacrifice; but she permitted him to be exposed upon the river, inclosed in a cradle or ark, into which she put many valuable jewels. The cradle floating down

the stream, came at last to a place where was a poor man, by trade a dyer, washing some linen, who carried home to his wife both the child and the riches he had found with him. The child, when he grew up, entered into the army, distinguished himself in battle, and was acknowledged by his mother, who resigned to him the throne. If we give credit to these ancient annals, Homai was another Semiramis, not with respect to conquests, for she never went out of her kingdom, but from her taste in building, and erecting sumptuous edifices. To her are attributed many of those of Persepolis, which had been begun by Gushtâsp. Darab I. did not justify the fears expressed by the diviners, for his reign was pacific and happy.

Darab II.

Darab II. is evidently the Darius Codomannus of the Greeks; to whose accounts the Persian historians never approach nearer than in the life of this prince. There is, however, this difference, that the Greeks represent Darius as a good and just prince, whereas the Persians say that he was cruel and rapacious, and that it was the discontent and complaints of the people which invited Alexander to invade Persia. They give, however, no proof of this imputation. At the same time they celebrate the great actions of Alexander, whose name is pronounced with admiration throughout all Asia; and in their annals, as in the Grecian his-

tories, Darius perishes the victim of a base conspiracy, and assassinated by traitors.

SCYTHIANS.

The Scythians, who have been styled *the Fathers of Nations*, derived their origin from Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet, who was himself the eldest son of Noah. His descendants extended themselves towards the northern parts of Asia, and beyond them into Europe; while the offspring of Shem and Ham advanced towards the southern parts of Asia, and into Africa.

Scythia, between India, Persia, the frozen regions of the North, the Celtiberian Ocean, and Africa.

The descendants of Gomer are known under the names of Gomerians, Cymmerians, Galatians, Gauls, Titans, Celtiberians, Scythians, Celto-scythes, and lastly, Celtes, which is their most common denomination with European authors.

Names.

It would be difficult, if not totally impossible, to point out the order of their migrations. They made excursions, and formed settlements at a great distance from their original centre, to which they returned, after many ages, and drove out the inhabitants, who were their original relations, but who no longer resembled them but in certain customs, and the affinity of some words in their language. Notwithstanding the changes in these words, which are very great, especially in the endings, those who have made the dialects of the north their particular study entertain no doubt that there was originally one common language to all

Migrations and Language.

these nations. But it must be confessed that those learned men who have endeavoured to elucidate the obscurities attendant on this hypothesis, rather deserve praise for their patience than their success.

Ancient
rites of the
Scythians.

The founder, first king, or legislator, of the Scythians, was named Samothēs. It is conjectured that the right of property was established by him; that he regulated the military discipline, and the religion of which the curetes were the ministers. These were likewise judges. He who refused to submit to their decision lost the right of participating in the sacred ceremonies, nor could any person enter into any contract with him: this is the first example of excommunication.

Religion,
sciences,
manners,
and customs.

They deified their heroes and their kings. Their priests, besides the name of curetes, were known by those of druids and bards. They taught, in public schools appointed for the purpose, philosophy, astronomy, judicial astrology, the immortality of the soul, and the metempsychosis. It has been pretended that the pagan religion and sciences were not derived from the Greeks to them; but from them to the Greeks. They were addicted, like many other nations, to the barbarous custom of sacrificing human victims. Plunder was their first object in war. They were formidable from their courage, the goodness of their arms, and the rapidity of their excursions. Their poets celebrated in verse the achievements of their heroes; and these kind of hymns were sung at

their public games, and at the moment of their attacking an enemy: even their military laws were written in verse, that they might be more easily retained in memory. It is thought that their language is preserved among the Welsh, and the inhabitants of Lower Brittany.

We find among the Scythians the divinities of ^{Gods.} Greece. They worshipped Uranus and Rhea, or the Heavens and the Earth, who produced Saturn, or Time: Saturn who devoured his children; Jupiter who escaped from his voracity, and married his sister Juno, who was extremely jealous, and with reason, of the gallantries of her husband, to which Mercury owed his birth. Venus, Mars, Neptune, Pluto, the demi-gods Pan and Sylvanus, lived in Scythia. All Olympus was peopled with Scythians.

By the name of Scythians, in the time of Alex- ^{Scythians.} ander, were called all the nations surrounding Persia, from the sources of the Ganges to the Caspian sea, and to an indeterminate distance towards the north. The divisions of this immense country have varied to infinity. The nations who have successively inhabited it have borne a great number of names, but they were always one people, and we may still observe among the individuals who dwell in those vast regions an air of resemblance which attests the identity of their origin.

The Scythians were some sedentary, and others ^{Manners.} nomades, or wandering. The former built houses,

scattered towns, and a small number of cities; the latter lived either under tents, or in waggons, in which they conveyed their families from one place which afforded pasturage to another. They were remarkable for their great contempt of riches, their temperance, and love of justice. They were a warlike people; a maiden could not be married until she had killed an enemy. They were laborious, of a prodigious strength of body, and extremely eager for glory. As their houses were always open, and their cattle wandered without a keeper, they held theft in great abhorrence, and punished it with the utmost severity.

Laws.

To a people of this character, very few laws were necessary. They had one which was very remarkable, and probably contributed long to maintain among them their innocence and simplicity; which was, that whoever proposed the least change in their customs was punishable with death.

They carried this precaution so far as to put to death all strangers who landed on their coasts, or were cast on their shores by tempests, lest their conversation should induce the Scythians to despise and violate their laws.

Kings,
Burial of the
royal corpse.

The crown among them was hereditary; the power of the king limited; and his person the object of an affectionate veneration. His illness produced a public sorrow, and his death was followed by a general mourning. Those who might be indifferent to that event were not suffered to appear

so; for it was the custom to carry the body in procession through all the tribes, and every person, at sight of it, was obliged to inflict on himself some wound, as to cut off a part of the ear, to slash the body, or, at least, to shave the head. The mourning was, no doubt, more sincere in the families of the grandees, because they were obliged to furnish fifty young men who were strangled, and whose bodies were placed round the sepulchre on horses likewise strangled. To these were added one of his favourite concubines, his head-cook, his groom, his valet, a messenger, some horses, and immense riches, all of which were deposited in the tomb.

As warriors, Mars was the god to whom they Customs. paid the greatest honours: to him, especially, was it that they sacrificed human victims. They consulted their palpitating entrails, and drew auguries either sinister or favourable from the manner in which the victim fell when he received the fatal blow, or from observing how the blood flowed. With this blood they plentifully sprinkled some of the largest trees in their forests. They do not appear to have had any other temples, or altars, than certain pyramids of wood, which they used to dress the flesh of oxen, and other animals, they offered as sacrifices.

The horse was considered by them as the most noble of animals, and was sacrificed by the Scythians in preference to any other. They likewise offered fruits, gold, spices, and whatever was most

valuable among their plunder. But they sometimes went, as it were, on pilgrimage, to carry presents to foreign gods whose fame had reached them.

Their contracts and treaties were accompanied by religious ceremonies which rendered them sacred, but still with a character of ferocity. On these occasions, the contracting parties drew some of their own blood, mingled it in a cup with wine, and drank it off together. They made bridles and trappings of the skins of their enemies, covered their quivers with them, and even wore them as an ornamental dress. They hung the bleeding heads of their enemies at the doors of their houses, by way of triumph; and the women viewed with pleasure and exultation these trophies of the valour of their husbands, to which they early accustomed their children, who, it may be said, sucked in blood with their mothers' milk.

Polygamy, not only that which allows a number of wives, but that which permits the enjoyment of the wife of another, was practised among the Scythians, as a thing of course, at which they would have been astonished that any person should have expressed surprize. A Scythian, during their march, would go into any waggon the mistress of which pleased him; and it was sufficient to hang up his quiver not to be disturbed by the husband, who always respected this signal; for no nation was ever less addicted to jealousy; to avoid which

frantic and tormenting passion, there were tribes who had their wives in common.

Hatred of their enemies, and a thirst for vengeance, rendered some of them, as they have done other nations, anthropagi, or men-eaters; but could we have imagined that they became cannibals from filial piety? Yet was this horrid madness found among the Scythians. When a father, a mother, or a near relative, was attacked by any disorder, which it was supposed would render the remainder of their lives miserable, they killed them, and made a feast with their bodies. The dying persons congratulated themselves on such a kind of sepulture, which they esteemed much more honourable than to become the food of worms.

Manufactures and commerce are not to be sought in a nation which was unacquainted with luxury, and had very few wants. Thus though they might have smiths to forge their arms, and cart-wrights to make their waggons, we can expect to find few other artists among them, especially those employed on articles of luxury, who can only thrive amid the wealth and idleness of cities. Nor could agriculture be held in much higher esteem among a pastoral people, whose subsistence was almost entirely derived from their flocks, and who clothed themselves in their skins.

Commerce,
arts, agri-
culture.

The conquests of the Scythians were more excusable than those of other nations. This frugal and robust people was extremely prolific, and their

numbers rendered the country they inhabited too confined for them. Prevented by the ice and snows of the north from extending themselves on that side, they turned towards countries that were less cold, from which they drove out the inhabitants, or incorporated them with themselves. Such is the general knowledge we have of the Scythians, which is very confused, for we know of no Scythian historian; either because their annals are lost, or because there never were any among a nation so migratory and unsettled.

Amazons.

The Amazons were one of the wonders of Scythia. Their existence as a military body would not be very surprizing, in a wandering nation, unacquainted with sedentary and domestic labours, and among whom the education of the women was the same with that of the men. But we find it difficult to believe that an association was ever formed of women who entirely excluded men, except at certain times; and still less can we believe that this association lasted a long time, and became an empire, governed by queens, who waged wars, and carried their victorious arms into distant countries.

But if the establishment of such an empire appears to be preternatural, the manner in which it is said to have ended is perfectly conformable to nature. Some ships, on board of which were Amazons, returning from a military expedition, were driven by a storm to the shores of the Palus Mæotis, where they landed to procure provisions,

The Scythians defended their territory. They entertained no doubt, at first, that they were fighting with young men, but some prisoners they took undeceived them. They then resolved to carry on a species of war suitable to circumstances. They formed a body of all their youth: "Refrain from violence," said they; "when they advance do you retreat; and advance when they retire." This manœuvre arrested the first impetuosity of the Amazons. They reconnoitred each other, and a young Scythian perceiving an Amazon who wandered from the rest, followed her; and though ignorant of the language of each other, they soon came to an understanding. She signified to him that if he would come the next day, and bring a companion, she would likewise bring one. The couples multiplied, and the two camps quickly became one.

The Scythians would have enjoyed a very peculiar privilege, if their early history, like that of other nations, had not been filled with fables. The Greeks represent the tribes nearest their country as descended from Scythes, the son of Hercules, and a monster with the tail of a serpent, whom that hero deigned to render a mother. Another chronology assigns them kings already famous in the time of Abraham. From that period to the time of Alexander there is no mention in history, except of some few of their kings, not in regular

Fabulous
Times.

Scythes.

succession, and of whom scarcely any thing is known but their names.

Kings.
Sigillus.

To Scythes succeeds Sigillus, who sent his son to the succour of the Amazons when attacked by Theseus. To obtain this succour, they affirmed that they were originally Scythians, who had renounced marriage, and the habitual society of men, from fidelity to the memory of their husbands, who had been assassinated.

Madyes.

Under Madyes, the Scythians extended their incursions in Asia, and subjected Syria and Egypt. This expedition lasted twenty-eight years. When they returned they found that their wives, wearied out by their long absence, had married their slaves, and that a numerous offspring was the fruit of this commerce. It was necessary to fight to regain possession of their homes. The masters met with an obstinate resistance. "It is very ill-judged," exclaimed one of them, "to employ against vile seducers arms with which we have conquered warlike nations; whips will be sufficient, and better adapted to the contest." They accordingly armed themselves with this formidable weapon, and attacked the slaves, who fled, and the women killed themselves.

Tomyris.

We are acquainted with Tomyris from the war which Cyrus made on the Massagetæ, of whom she was queen; but the vengeance she took of that unjust aggressor, by cutting off his head, and throw-

ing it into a vessel full of blood, is all that we know of her life or achievements.

History affords us more particulars relative to Jancyrus. Jancyrus, who was likewise attacked unjustly by the Persians. To the menaces of Darius, who had sent to demand of him earth and water, he replied by a kind of enigma, which had a reference to those elements. Jancyrus sent the Persian a bird, a frog, a mouse, and five arrows. The diviners were called to explain these emblems, which Darius wished to persuade himself signified an entire submission to his will.—“By no means,” replied his minister Gobryas, who was better acquainted with the Scythians than his master, “the true meaning is, that if the Persians invade Scythia, they must not expect to escape, unless they can fly in the air like birds, swim in the water like frogs, or burrow in the earth like mice.” As to the five arrows, they signified five Scythian kings, who had engaged to join Jancyrus to repulse the common enemy.

But these allies failed him when he wanted their assistance. Jancyrus, however, found means to punish them by the hands of the Persians themselves. He so well distributed his troops, and laid waste the country in such a manner, that the Persians, no longer finding provisions in the districts in which they were, were obliged to procure them from the territories of these neutral princes, who payed the expenses of the war. He thus,

without much exertion, deprived the Persians of any desire again to invade his country.

Scythes II.

Scythes II. had the misfortune to be educated by a Grecian mother, who instilled into him an aversion for savage manners, and a great predilection for the effeminate luxuries of the Greeks. His subjects, irritated at this preference, dethroned him. He was killed by his brother, who became his successor.

Ariantes.

That we may omit nothing that is extraordinary, even though it should appear improbable, we shall mention that Ariantes, wishing to take an account of the number of fighting men among his subjects, ordered them all to appear at a time he appointed, and each cast the tip of an arrow into a common heap, which amounted to such a bulk, that he caused them to be melted and cast into a large capacious vessel, which, though full six inches thick, was large enough to contain six hundred amphoras, or about fifty hogsheds; and Herodotus tells us it still remained, in his time, a monument of this prodigious army.

Atheas.

Atheas, who lived in the time of Philip, king of Macedon, imposed on that monarch, who was the most crafty prince of his time. He obtained from him a considerable succour, against an invasion with which he was threatened; and when the enemy, terrified by the preparations of Philip, desisted from their design, he sent to thank him, but pretended that he owed him no farther recompense

for his preparations, because no war had actually taken place.

The two princes then contended to over-reach each other by stratagem. Philip signified to Atheas that he had made a vow to erect a statue to Hercules, on the bank of the Ister, opposite to his territories. Atheas, who perceived his motive, wrote to him in answer: "Send the statue, and I will engage to consecrate it with all suitable solemnity, and take care for its safety." Philip found another pretext to enter the territories of the king of Scythia. He gained over him a great victory, and carried off prisoners twenty thousand women and children, besides a vast quantity of cattle, and twenty thousand of the finest Scythian mares, which he sent into Macedonia for breeding. It is observed that among the plunder was found neither gold, silver, nor jewels; a proof of the poverty and simplicity of the Scythians, of whom, after this time, scarcely any mention is made in history as a collective nation,

ASIA MINOR,

Asia Minor is perhaps the country most favoured by nature in the world. It is situate under the finest sky, in the most equal temperature, well watered, and washed by several seas, which surround it almost entirely. The soil is fertile and rich in all kinds of productions. Hence has it been peopled from the most remote antiquity. Its

inhabitants have formed kingdoms of greater or less extent; of which the Greeks, their neighbours, have transmitted us the history, intermingled, after their manner, with a number of fables.

PHRYGIANS.

Upper
Phrygia,
between
Pontus,
Troas, the
Ægean Sea,
Caria, and
Pamphylia.

The Phrygians occupied nearly the centre of Asia Minor; but it is not easy to assign their precise limits, which have advanced, or receded, according to times and circumstances. Their country abounded in every kind of grain, the cultivation of which purified the air, which is now thick and gross; the sad effect of wars, which have driven away the husbandman, destroyed the herds and flocks, and converted the pastures into pestilential marshes. The same scourge has desolated the cities, great numbers of which embellished this country, now almost everywhere covered with ruins. But war has not alone been the cause of these disasters: earthquakes have had a considerable share in them. It has been remarked, with not a little surprize, that a city has been built, under different names, four times in the same place, and four times overthrown. Nothing remains of it but ruins. The rivers of Phrygia are not very considerable, nor are the mountains lofty, but the imagination of the poets has bestowed waters on the one, and elevation on the other; and has applied to their names events which have

rendered them interesting to the lovers of mythology.

The Egyptians confessed that the Phrygians were more ancient than themselves. They are held to be descended from one of the sons of Gomer. The Phrygians, according to their general character among the ancients, were effeminate, of a slow conception, and only to be rendered serviceable by blows. They were very superstitious, and to them is attributed the invention of divination by the flight and song of birds. Their music, known by the name of the Phrygian mode, and their slow and inanimate dances, partook of the effeminacy of their character.

Antiquity,
manners,
customs.

With surrounding seas, and excellent harbours, it was not easy for the Phrygians to neglect commerce; but the time in which it flourished, and its extent, are unknown. We are as little acquainted with the sciences they cultivated; and whether they practised any other arts besides those which are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of life. They had a language, of which some words have come down to us, that do not in the least resemble the Greek; but the characters in which they wrote are unknown to us.

Commerce.

The religion of the Phrygians is famous for a rite equally ridiculous and cruel. Atys, the son of a daughter of a king of Phrygia, of whom she became mother by putting the flower of a pomegranate into her bosom, was brought up by Ac-

Religion.

deftis, a kind of forcerer, and Cybele, called the great mother of the gods, who were fingularly attached to their nurse-child. The destiny of Atys appears to have been to be beloved; for Midas, another king of Phrygia, was fo taken with him that he determined to give him his daughter in marriage, but, probably, without consulting Acdeftis and Cybele, who were offended at it, Midas, fearing the effects of their anger, caufed his palace gates to be fhut on the day of the nuptials; but Cybele carried away the walls and towers of the city, which ſhe placed on her head, and appeared in the midft of the afſembly with theſe ornaments, with which ſhe was always afterwards reprefented. Acdeftis, at the ſame time, inſpired the gueſts with wild confuſion and fury, in confequence of which Atys was mutilated and died; his bride killed herſelf, and Cybele wandered over the world, bewailing the death of her dear Atys. This catastrophe was commemorated by a religious worſhip, the principal act of which was the emasculation of the prieſts by their own hands. They carried through the cities and towns the ſtatues of the goddeſs, ſinging hymns in honour of her. It is probable, that theſe hymns were accompanied with laſcivious rites, which at length rendered the liturgy and its miniſters equally deſpised.

Kings.

Kings were very numerous in Phrygia; that is to ſay, there were a number of ſmall kingdoms, ſometimes conſiſting only of a ſingle city, and its

territories. But they bear, in general, in history, the name of kings of Phrygia, though we are not able to ascertain the precise place over which they reigned. The first of whom we have any account is Nannacus. The oracle had predicted, that ^{Nannacus.} at his death all things should perish; at hearing which Nannacus wept profusely; and as often as he thought of the destruction that was to take place he wept; whence the proverb, *to weep like Nannacus*. But his tears were of no avail, for after his death ensued the deluge which destroyed the human race.

The kings of Phrygia were named alternately ^{Midas I.} Midas and Gordius, which produces great confusion in their succession. One Midas preceded Gordius I. who was raised from the plough to the throne. While he was one day ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke of his oxen, and continued there the whole day. Gordius went to consult the soothsayers on the signification of this prodigy, when he met with another adventure not less extraordinary. As he entered the city he met with a beautiful young woman, who, on his enquiring for the soothsayers, and telling her what had happened to him, told him that she could explain the meaning of the prodigy to him as well as the soothsayers, for she was skilled in the art of divination. "The omen," said she, "portends that you will obtain the crown." As he hesitated to believe her, "I am so certain of it,"

added she, "that I should be happy to marry you, and share the throne with you." Gordius accepted this pledge of the certainty of her knowledge.

Some time after a civil war broke out, the cause of which was the choice of a king. The Phrygians being unable to agree, resolved that they would raise to the throne the first man who should come to the temple of Jupiter riding in a cart. This man proved to be Gordius, whom they immediately saluted king. He dedicated his cart in the temple, and to it fastened the yoke with a knot so intricately tied that the oracle promised the empire of the world to him who should unloose it. This was the famous *Gordian knot* which Alexander cut, but which was never unravelled.

Midas II.

The oracle likewise gave a prediction relative to Midas his son, in consequence of a swarm of ants conveying their stores of wheat into his mouth while he was sleeping. "He shall acquire immense riches," said the oracle, and the prophecy was fulfilled.

Gordius II.

Under Gordius, his son, a great cavity opened in the middle of the city of Celænæ. Sacrifices were offered to induce the gulph to close, but it only opened the wider. This, if any could be, was a sufficient reason to consult the oracle. It answered: "Throw into it the most valuable thing you have." The women threw in their jewels, gold, and silver, which perhaps were not

totally lost to every body ; but the cavern only enlarged more and more. “What is it we possess most valuable?” thought Ancharus, a worthy citizen : “Certainly it is life.” Delighted with his discovery, he embraced his father, took leave of his wife, mounted a horse, and threw himself into the gulph, which immediately closed.

Lityerses, an usurper, is represented to us nearly Lityerses. in the same manner as the tales of the fairies represent the ogres. His appetite was so voracious, that he would eat in one day three large baskets of bread ; and his thirst so great, that he could scarcely assuage it by drinking twelve gallons of wine. He likewise killed men for his diversion, but we are not told that he ate them. We sometimes find in history the foundation of tales and fables.

After this barbarian two Midases and two Gordiuses occupied the throne, but we know nothing of them but their names, and the time of the end of their reigns, which was the period when this monarchy appears to have ceased. 2429.

TROJANS.

Descending from Upper Phrygia towards the Hellespont, we arrive at the places rendered celebrated by the genius of Homer ; Mount Olympus, the abode of the gods ; Mount Ida, on which the shepherd Paris adjudged to Venus the prize of beauty ; the straight of Sestos and Abydos, famous Lower Phrygia, or Troas, between the Propontis, the Ægean sea, Mysia Minor, and the Hellespont.

for the loves of Leander and Hero; Scamander and Simois; rivers during the war of Troy, but scarcely brooks at present; and, lastly, Troy herself, or rather her ruins.

In describing Lower Phrygia we can only repeat what has been said of the Upper; that it is a delightful country, fertile, and of an agreeable temperature. There is, however, this difference, that the air, refreshed by the sea-breezes which blow regularly at stated times, is more salubrious. Ida, which is rather a chain of mountains than a single summit, is interspersed with vallies in which, under the shades of the heights, a perfumed air is respired.

Manners,
religion,
commerce.

As to their religion, manners, and character, the inhabitants of Troas could not differ from the other Phrygians. They were perhaps more warlike, because the vicinity of the sea introduced among them Greek colonies, with which they became intermingled. This vicinity to the sea may likewise have induced them to engage in commerce.

Kings.
Teucer.
Dardanus,
1491.

Teucer, the son of Scamander, and of Ida—that is to say, born in Troas—is little known, except through his successor Dardanus, who was not his son, but his son-in-law. Teucer sent for him from Samothrace, where he reigned, in consequence of his great character for virtue. He did not disappoint the expectations of the Trojan king: he was pious and just. He brought with

him the palladium, a statue of Minerva, the preservation of which, according to an oracle, ensured the safety of the city that possessed it. Dardanus built a temple, in which he deposited it.

Erichthonius, his son, succeeded him, and inherited his virtues and his happiness. Erichthonius, 1557.

Tros, the son of Erichthonius, was the father of Ganymedes, a youth of extraordinary beauty. Tros. Ilus. Ganymedes. 1651.

His father sent him to carry some presents to Jupiter, the sovereign of a kingdom not very distant; but to arrive at his dominions it was necessary to pass through those of Tantalus. The latter, admiring the beauty of Ganymedes, detained him at his court. Jupiter demanded his release; and on the refusal of Tantalus a war took place between the two kings, in which Tantalus was vanquished, and condemned continually to have in view the objects of his wishes, but never to enjoy them. Tros was the founder of Troy. From him descended Anchises, who became the favourite of Venus; and from their amours was born Æneas. Ilus the son of Tros succeeded him. He had two sons, Laomedon, and Tithonus the lover of Aurora, with which goddess he is said to have had assignations, because, being a great hunter, he rose very early. She obtained for him the privilege of being immortal; but not an exemption from old age, which rendered the gift of immortality at least useless. Tithonus had a son named Memnon,

whose statue when touched by the first rays of the sun rendered an harmonious sound.

Laomedon,
1704.

The citadel of Troy owed its foundation to Laomedon, the son of Ilus, who built it with the assistance of Apollo and Neptune; that is, with the riches he found in the temples of those divinities. In his time the Argonauts landed in Troas, and were hospitably received. Laomedon was killed by Hercules, whom he had imprudently provoked. These different princes and their adventures lead us to the war of Troy.

Priam,
1750.

This war, according to the poets, was caused by the carrying off of Helen, whom Paris, the son of Priam, took away from Menelaus her husband, at whose court he had been kindly received. Her husband demanded that she should be restored to him; but the king of Troy refused to give her up. Menelaus excited all Greece to arm in his cause; and the confederate princes swore the ruin of Troy, and that they would not separate till they had destroyed the city to the foundations. The obstinacy of Priam in not restoring Helen, an obstinacy immortalized by the poem of Homer, is surprising. But the historians add a circumstance omitted by the poet, which justifies the pertinacious refusal of Priam.

That prince had a sister named Hesione, who was married to Telamon, the king of a small island in the Grecian sea. He treated her more like a

concubine than a legitimate wife. Priam, incensed at the injurious treatment of his sister, required that she should be sent back to Troy; but the husband thought proper to take the opinion of the kings of the neighbouring islands on this demand, who all determined that Telamon ought not to restore the sister of Priam, and resolved besides, probably because he threatened to make reprisals, that if Helen, the wife of Menelaus, should be carried off, they would all combine against the ravisher. Hesione was not restored, and Helen was carried off. This reciprocal injury explains the origin of a hatred, which became the more violent in proportion as it was easy to terminate it by the parties mutually rendering each other justice.

It would require the pencil of Homer, and his Taking of Troy, 1815. brilliant and productive imagination, to render interesting the narrative of a war between princes whose territories did not extend beyond an island, or even a city; to enoble their piracies and plunderings, and give to their brutal fury an air of heroism. Conferences, marches, stratagems, combats, truces, and even the most ordinary events of war, all become wondrous beneath his pen. His poems, besides the pleasure they afford, are extremely useful, as being the foundation of history. He relates the origin of nations, their customs, migrations, intermixtures, and even their geographical position.

The Grecian ships carried a hundred thousand

men to the siege of Troy. It is presumed that the nine first years of the siege passed in unimportant combats and skirmishes. The Greeks suffered by famine, and were obliged to make expeditions to the neighbouring coasts and islands, whence they brought away provisions and slaves. When they returned to the siege of the city, they were attacked by the plague, occasioned by a bad air, the consequence of inundations. In their different expeditions they were strengthened by a number of recruits. The Trojans were assisted by the kings of that part of Asia, who brought them very considerable succours. Many of the chiefs on each side fell; Patroclus, Hector, Achilles, and Paris, the cause of the war; till at length, in the tenth year of the siege, a general assault rendered the Greeks masters of Troy, which they destroyed to the foundations.

Two ruins of this city are still remaining, at the distance of about half a league from each other. The one, at some distance from the sea-shore, is believed to have been a part of ancient Troy; the other, nearer the sea, is supposed to have belonged to New Troy, built by the Romans, who believing that they derived their origin from the Trojans, held it as a kind of sacred duty to rebuild their city. Of the Trojans who escaped the chains of the Greeks, some took refuge in the neighbouring countries, and were confounded with the inhabitants; while others carried to distant

regions the wreck of their fortune, their most valuable effects which they had saved from pillage and conflagration. They deeply implanted in the hearts of their descendants the remembrance of their country, by giving to the places where they established themselves the names of objects dear to them from their infancy.

Many of the conquerors were not more fortunate than the vanquished. On returning to their kingdoms after ten years' absence, they found there only confusion, anarchy, and conspiracies. Their wives had forgotten their husbands: their children no longer knew their fathers. Of these princes, some rejected, and others ill-received, abandoned their ungrateful subjects, and went to found colonies in distant countries, whither they carried their religion, their laws, and their customs.

MYSIANS.

The Mysians, who were neighbours of the Trojans, came to their assistance during the course of the siege. When the victory of the Greeks had rendered Troas deserted, the Mysians extended their boundaries, and took possession of it, from their vicinity, without the trouble of conquering it. These countries greatly resembled each other in their temperature and fertility. The inhabitants had been warlike, but probably in very early ages, for in later times, *the last of the Mysians*, was a customary expression with the Greeks to de-

Mysia, between the Propontis, Lydia, Phrygia, and Bithynia.

note a person of mean spirit and character. Their religion was that of the Phrygians, but their priests did not emasculate themselves: it was only required as a condition of their obtaining and continuing in the priesthood, that they should not marry.

Cyzicus.

The arts were held in great honour among the Mysians, and proofs of their expertness in them still remain. The city of Cyzicus was called *the Rome of Asia*; and contained a temple built entirely of polished marble. The columns of it, which were of extraordinary height and thickness, were employed to embellish Constantinople, when Cyzicus was destroyed by an earthquake. The money of Cyzicus was of such excellent workmanship, that it was considered as a miracle of art.

Pergamus.

It was at Pergamus that the first tapestry was made. Eumenes, king of that city, having the noble ambition to form a library equal to that of Ptolemy at Alexandria, caused all the valuable books with which he was acquainted to be copied, and for that purpose sent to procure paper from Egypt; but Ptolemy, who did not choose to be surpassed, nor even equalled in the love of science, forbade the exportation of paper. Eumenes discovered the art of rendering the skins of beasts proper to receive writing; and thus invented parchment, or the *paper of Pergamus*. He had two hundred thousand volumes transcribed.

Lampfacus was famous for the debauchery of ^{Lampfacus.} the inhabitants, and the worship of Priapus, which was accompanied with such infamous acts, that Alexander resolved to destroy this sink of abominations. He swore he would lay it in ashes; and seeing Anaximenes approach, who came to solicit him to spare the city, "I vow to the Gods," exclaimed he, "that I will not grant what he is coming to request."—"Just and potent monarch," said the artful orator, "the inhabitants of Lampfacus having had the misfortune to incur your indignation, and wishing to expiate the enormous crimes that have provoked your anger, supplicate your majesty to destroy their wretched city." Bound by his oath, Alexander granted the favour he had really been sent to solicit. It was on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Myfia, that this conqueror commenced his great achievements against the Persians. Four kings of this small country are mentioned in history; but we are unacquainted both with the events and the dates of their reigns.

LYDIANS.

The extent of Lydia has varied, like that of ^{Lydia,} all these parts of Asia Minor, which have some- ^{between} times been provinces, and sometimes kingdoms. ^{Myfia,} Lydia had for its capital Sardes, situated at the ^{Caria,} foot of Mount Tmolus, on the Pactolus, which ^{Phrygia,} contained gold in its sands. This city was so im- ^{and Ionia.}

portant to the Persians when they had taken it, that after the Greeks had retaken it, Xerxes ordered that every day while he was at dinner a crier should proclaim: "The Greeks have taken Sardes." Beautiful ruins are still remaining of this, as well as of several other cities of Lydia, which was long a field of battle for the Greeks and Persians, and afterwards for the Romans.

Antiquity,
manners,
commerce,
religion.

The Lydians are supposed to have been descended from the Egyptians: yet was their mythology entirely Grecian. It was in Lydia that the fabulists placed the scene of a part of the labours of Hercules. He submitted to spin with Omphale, queen of Lydia. In Lydia, likewise, were born, or dwelt, Marsyas, Tantalus, Pelops, Niobe, Arachne, and almost all the heroes and heroines of the metamorphoses. The gains of prostitution furnished a marriage portion for the Lydian women. They accustomed their children to a rigid and laborious life; and idleness was punished as a crime. The Lydians were the first people who coined gold and silver to facilitate commerce; and the first likewise who kept inns. They are said to have been the inventors of the game of dice, dancing, and various kinds of musical instruments, to which they had recourse to assuage their hunger by diversion during a great famine. Provided with these amusements they passed one day without eating, and the next ate without playing. Commerce alone could have

enabled a Lydian individual to make a present to Xerxes of a plane-tree and vine of massive gold, to entertain his whole army, and give him an immense sum of money, with which to defray the expenses of the war. This Lydian merchant was named Pythius.

Sixteen kings preceded the times of which we have some authentic knowledge. The first of them was named Manes. He was a slave, and was chosen precisely on that account. The Lydians imagined that a man who had groaned under oppression, would not himself become an oppressor. We know not whether this reasoning was confirmed by the event. Cambletes was such a glutton, that he devoured his wife while sleeping, and did not know what he had done till he found her hand in his mouth the next morning. We give these anecdotes as we pass on, to diminish our regret for the loss of the ancient chronicles.

An act of indiscretion cost Candaules his throne and his life. There was between him and Gyges, his favourite, a kind of dispute relative to the beauty of the queen; Candaules affirming that her charms were superior to those of all other women. To convince Gyges, he placed him where he could see the queen coming out of the bath. She discovered the imprudent indecency of her husband, and sending for Gyges—"You must," said she, "kill the king, and marry me, or ex-

Kings.
Manes;
Cambletes.

Candaules,
2281.

“ piate your rashness with your life.” History does him the honour to represent him as hesitating at this alternative ; but at length he preferred the throne and a beautiful woman to death. He it was who had the famous ring, which rendered its possessor invifible.

Alyattes,
2330.

The three following kings were warriors and conquerors. Alyattes made war with various fuccefs against the Medes, and against the Scythians. At the moment he was about to engage in battle with the former a great eclipse of the fun came on, which fo terrified both armies that they immediately made peace.

Cræfus,
2436.

Cræfus, his fon and fucceffor, who was fo rich that his name is ftill proverbial for wealth, carried fo far his victorious arms, that his empire was almoft equal to that of Babylon. He was elated with his fuccefs, and believed that no one equalled him in happinefs. His court certainly merited the attention of a fage, fince Solon, the legiflator of Athens, did not difdain to make a ftay there in his travels. Cræfus difplayed before him all his treasures ; his fplendor, pomp, and power. “ What is your opinion,” faid he to the Athenian ; “ have you ever known a man more happy than myfelf ?” “ Doubtless,” replied the fage. “ Who was he ?” “ A worthy man, the father of a number of children, who ended his life on the field of battle, after a victory gained over the enemies of his country.” “ Do you know

“ any others ?” continued Cræsus. “ Yes,” replied Solon ; “ two young Argives, crowned at the Olympic games, and celebrated for their filial piety. Their mother, the priestess of Juno, being in haste to go to the temple, and the oxen which were to draw her chariot not being arrived, they fastened themselves to the carriage, and drew it. The people who witnessed this action showered on them their benedictions, while their mother, transported with joy, prayed the goddess to bestow on her sons what she thought most advantageous to them. Her prayer was heard ; for, immediately after the sacrifice, they both fell asleep, and expired by a mild and gentle death, in the temple itself.” Cræsus concluded, from these two histories, or apologues, that Solon meant to give him to understand that there was no true happiness in this world till it had been sealed by death ; and he soon after experienced but too severely the truth of the maxim.

Cyrus was then extending his conquests over Asia, and Cræsus determined to oppose a torrent which might at last overwhelm his own dominions. Before he commenced the attack, however, he consulted the oracle, which answered him : “ If you make war on Cyrus, a great empire will be destroyed.” Relying on this answer, of which he did not perceive the ambiguity, Cræsus marched against the Persians, was defeat-

ed, taken prisoner, loaded with chains, and condemned to perish in the flames. As he mounted the pile, he exclaimed in an agony of grief: "Ah! Solon! Solon!" Cyrus, informed of this exclamation, sent for him, and enquired why he called upon Solon. Cræsus repeated to him the lesson he had received from the legislator of Athens. Cyrus was moved by what he heard, and by the consideration of the instability of all human things. He pardoned Cræsus, made him an attendant on his person, and ever after treated him as a friend; but did not restore to him his crown, according to some authors, though others assert that he replaced him on the throne. However this may be, with him ended the empire of the Lydians.

LYCIANS.

Lycia, between Caria, Pamphylia, Phrygia, and the Mediterranean.

Lycia is extremely fertile, but exposed to inundations, by the melting of the snows. The air is very healthy. As the sea is the boundary of Lycia, through its whole length, and it is shut in by mountains behind, it is not impossible that it may have been peopled from Crete, or other islands. The Lycians had a roughness in their manners, very different from the mild character of the Phrygians, and other inhabitants of Asia Minor, their neighbours. They were famous for piracy; and to them is attributed the invention of brigantines, adapted for sailing fast, and running close in shore. They appear to have pos-

possessed a ferocious courage, acquired by their seafaring life, and sea-engagements. We may form some judgement of it from the following incident.

Harpagus, a Persian general, had encamped in Xanthus, Lycia, with a powerful army. The inhabitants of Xanthus, one of the principal cities of the Lycians, though they were but a handful of men, attacked him with intrepidity, and were defeated, driven back into the city, and besieged. All resource, and all hope being lost, they took the desperate resolution of dying, but resolved to sell their lives dearly. They shut up their women, children, slaves, and all their riches, in the citadel, to which they set fire, and then rushed headlong upon the Persians, of whom they made a great carnage, but were at length all killed to the last man.

In this country was said to be found the chimæra, Chimæra. which had the head of a lion, breathing forth flames, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent. Bellerophon, one of the kings of Lycia, slew this monster; that is to say, he cleared the summit of the mountain of wild beasts, with which it was infested; rendered proper for pasturage the declivities in the middle; and drained the marshes at the bottom, which bred serpents and other noxious animals.

The Lycians are greatly praised by the ancient Customs. writers for their sobriety and manner of administering justice. After having been subject to kings,

whose names and actions are unknown, they became republicans. Every year three deputies from the great cities, two from the less, and one from the smallest, formed a senate, in which were discussed all affairs, civil and military; and even those of individuals, that were of importance. It is not known whether this assembly continued to meet the whole year, till the formation of another; or whether it ceased after a limited time.

Condition
of their
children.

Their children took their name and condition, not from the father, but the mother; so that if a freewoman married a slave, her children were free like herself; but if a man who was free married a slave, the children were slaves like the mother.

CILICIANS.

Cilicia, between Syria, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, and the Mediterranean.

Cilicia seems to have been inhabited by two races of people; the one mild and pacific, cultivators, laborious, mercantile, and honest in their dealings, who lived in the plains, and sometimes brought into the field large armies; the other warlike, turbulent, pirates from inclination and situation, and who, to use the expression, formed their lodgments on the steep heights of Taurus and Imaus.

The entrances into Cilicia, which are in number three, are each more difficult than the other. A handful of brave men would defend them against whole armies. The coasts, abounding in small harbours, into which ships may retire, and promon-

ories, from which they may be protected, are extremely convenient for piracy. The Cilicians infested the neighbouring seas, and made descents in Greece, and even in Italy; whence they brought slaves, which they sold in Cyprus, Egypt, and in different parts of Asia. The Romans frequently armed against them; but these pirates, driven from the sea, took refuge in their caves, whence, as soon as the fleets disappeared, they returned to their depredations in the *Ægean* and *Ionian* seas, and every part of the *Mediterranean*. *Pompey the Great* did not esteem it beneath him to make an expedition against them. He attacked them with five hundred ships, carrying a hundred and thirty thousand men, and considered it as a great victory to have destroyed the haunts of these banditti.

The Cilicians of the plains were a mixture of *Phrygians* and other nations of *Asia Minor*, who, flying from the fury and devastation of *Babylonian*, *Persian*, and *Egyptian* conquerors, took refuge in this confined country, surrounded by natural fortifications, easy to be defended. They had kings, with the events of whose reigns we are unacquainted. As to the maritime Cilicians, they were composed of the dregs of every nation. Malefactors, exiles, and adventurers of every kind, found among them an asylum and subsistence by robbery. It was, doubtless, to this part of the nation that the character of liars, cruel and de-

ceitful, which has been so liberally bestowed on them all, was applicable. Their language, a mixture of Syriac, Greek, and Persian, formed a peculiar idiom, as harsh and rugged as their manners.

Alexan-
dretta.

The bay of Issus is one of the best in Cilicia. Alexander, to perpetuate the memory of the victory he had obtained in this place, built here a city, so happily situated, that it was for a long time the principal emporium of the commerce of the east. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope deprived it of this advantage. This city is, however, still much frequented, and known by the name of Alexandretta, a diminutive suitable to its present state of decline. When ships arrive at this port, advice is sent to Aleppo, by pigeons which are dispatched carrying a letter fastened under their wing.

GREECE.

Greece, be-
tween Ma-
cedonia,
Thrace, and
the Aegean,
Ionian, and
Cretan seas.

Greece is in general an excellent country, situated in a temperate climate, in which none of the necessaries of life are wanting, and to which the seas that surround it waft in abundance every superfluity.

It is conjectured, with some foundation, that Greece was inhabited within a few generations after the deluge by the descendants of Javan, the grand-son of Noah. As we proceed in the history of the different districts of this country, it will

be seen in what manner the Greeks gradually raised themselves from a state of rudeness and ignorance to a superior degree of knowledge in arts, sciences, laws, war, and government. — This progress in improvement, which transformed a barbarous nation into a civilized people, continued about nine hundred years. The darkness of this period, obscure in itself, is still more deepened by the fables to which the imagination of the poets, and the ignorance and vanity of the Greek authors, have given birth; yet even these fables afford some rays of light, which serve as a guide to history.

The manners of the first inhabitants of Greece Manners. were rude and savage. They fed on herbs, fruits, and roots. The time when they first began to lay up a store of acorns for a season of scarcity, to clothe themselves with the skins of beasts, and build huts to dwell in, is pointed out as the æra of civilization. Till then they remained in the open air, or lodged in caves. It is observed that the more feeble retired to sterile places, that their enjoyments might not be envied; and thus Attica became peopled. The fabulists have endeavoured to point out the age in which those lived who first taught agriculture, or attempted to make voyages by sea; and it results from their chronology, that the invention of these arts is of a very early date. By their voyages and military expeditions, a number of the Greeks made their way into countries

more advanced in the sciences and every kind of knowledge. They brought from Phœnice the art of alphabetic writing; and from Persia and Babylon, geometry, astronomy, and magic.

For want of laws, the Greeks were long governed by oracles. It is the property of every religion, good or bad, to act as a restraint on the people. The most celebrated oracle was that of Delphi, where Apollo himself rendered answers through the medium of a priestess named the *Pythia*. It was at first required that she should be a virgin, but in process of time a matron was substituted. She was seated on a tripod, placed over an opening whence issued a vapour that inspired the priestess with a sacred fury. In this paroxysm, she pronounced with the tone and gestures of a maniac, answers almost always intricate and ambiguous, but the true sense of which was discoverable after the event. It is to be observed that the heroes, kings, and even sages, appeared to have a firm faith in the oracles, and consulted them with great solemnity. Those who may think that they only affected this credulity must at least confess that they apparently considered it as necessary to inculcate it in the people by their example.

SICYON.

Sicyon.

Sicyon would be the first of all monarchies, without even excepting those of Egypt and Assyria, were it true, as some chronologists pretend, that it

existed before the death of Noah. They rest this calculation on a succession of twenty-six kings, who adorned this small country with temples, altars, images of the gods, and statues of themselves. These magnificent embellishments continued during the whole time that Greece remained in its rude state, but ceased when it began to be civilized.

ARGOS.

In Argolis, every river, mountain, and city, was celebrated; there was no place which was not distinguished by some famous event, and whose memory, by consequence, deserved not to be perpetuated.

Argolis, between the gulphs of Saron and Argos, Sicyon, Arcadia, and Laconia.

On the banks of the river Inachus, so called from Inachus the first king, was built the city Inachus, the capital of the kingdom. Pyrrhus king of Epirus was killed in this city, in the midst of victory, by a tile thrown on his head by an old woman. Here was seen the tower of brass in which Jupiter, changed to a shower of gold, seduced Danae. The meadows of Argos, in which numerous courfers bounded, pastured the horses of Neptune. The rich Mycenæ supplanted Inachus, and became the capital. The lion of the forest of Nemea, slain by Hercules, gave occasion to the institution of the Nemean games. Epidaurus boasted its magnificent temple of Æsculapius; and Nauplia, now Napoli di Romania, its enchanting situation.

Rarities.

Kings.

The Argives were governed by kings from the most remote ages : their dynasties are even known. They were the Apisidæ, or descendants of Apis ; the Pelopidæ, derived from Pelops ; and the Heraclidæ, or successors of Hercules. These reigns extended to about eight hundred years after the deluge, and ended in a republic.

The tripod.

The first known king, after Inachus, was named Castor. He transferred his throne to Mycenæ. Apis, a cruel and barbarous tyrant, was obliged to fly into Egypt, where he was worshipped under the name of Serapis. Argos founded the capital of his name ; and encouraged, and brought into esteem, agriculture, which had till then been much neglected. Crotopus had a daughter too much inclined to the tender passion, who became enamoured of Apollo, by whom she had a child, which she concealed among rushes, where the king's dogs found and devoured it. The fierce anger of the god was enkindled, and he sent a monster which tore the children from the bosoms of the mothers, and destroyed them. Corœbus killed the monster, which still more irritated Apollo, who sent the plague into the country. Corœbus consulted the oracle, and was answered : " Take a tripod in your hand, and, where the tripod shall fall, build a temple to Apollo." The tripod was procured, carried in procession, and fell at Delphi, where a temple was built, and the plague ceased.

Danaus, driven from Egypt, for having refused Danaus. to give his fifty daughters in marriage to the fifty sons of Ægyptus, his brother, came to Argos, and asserted his claim to the throne, as a descendant of Inachus, against Sthenelus, who was in possession. The two rivals appealed to the people. While the assembly was deliberating, a wolf killed a bull which fed among a herd of cows, under the walls of the city. The question was now decided. The bull, it was said, represented the reigning sovereign, and the wolf, the foreign prince; consequently, the latter must receive the sceptre. Ægyptus, informed of this event, began to fear that his brother might give his fifty daughters in marriage to fifty neighbouring princes, and strengthen himself by their alliance to make war upon him. He therefore renewed his applications to obtain them for his sons at the head of a powerful army. Danaus was now constrained to give him his daughters, but commanded them to kill their husbands on the night of their nuptials. Forty-nine obeyed: Hypermnestra alone saved Lynceus her husband. She even effected a reconciliation between him and her father, who left to him his crown. Her forty-nine sisters are condemned, in the infernal shades, to fill with water a vessel pierced with innumerable holes; which let it out as fast as it is poured in.

The two sons of Lynceus and Hypermnestra, Fury of Bacchus. struggled together in their mother's womb, and

when they grew up contended for the throne. In their wars, they invented bucklers. Prætus obtained the prize, and married Sthenobœa, who conceived a passion for Bellerophon, a foreign prince on a visit at her court. She made him amorous proposals, which he rejected, and was ill-treated by her husband, who gave credit to the accusations of his wife. Prætus had by her alone forty-three daughters. We know not whether it was as a punishment for her slander of Bellerophon, that she was attacked with a malady that was called *the fury of Bacchus*; nor are we acquainted with the symptoms of the disorder. But if it was a punishment, in what manner had the other Argive women offended, that it should be inflicted upon them? Happily, a physician was found who could cure it, and received as a reward one of the most beautiful of his patients in marriage, with a third part of the kingdom.

Perseus.

Perseus, the son of Danae and of Jupiter who by the shower of gold opened the gates of the brazen tower, was a hero to whom the most famous knights-errant were not to be compared. Dreaded by his grand-father Acrisius, because an oracle had foretold that he should be killed by his grand-son, he was put, with his mother Danae, into a chest, and committed to the mercy of the waves. Jupiter, however, conveyed the chest in safety to the island of Seriphus, where Dictys, the brother of Polydectes king of that island, brought

Perseus up as his own son. By the time he had arrived at manhood, the king became enamoured of his mother, and would have offered her violence, if her son had not prevented him. Enraged at this opposition, the king, at once to be revenged and to free himself from him, commanded him to go into Africa, and fetch the head of the Gorgon Medusa, of whom the sight alone changed into stone those who looked upon her. He obeyed, and on his return delivered Andromeda, the daughter of a king of Phœnice, who had been exposed to be devoured by a sea-monster, and married her. On his arrival at Seriphus, he found his mother and Dictys had been forced to take refuge in a sanctuary, to avoid the brutal violence of Polydectes. He turned on him the horrid Gorgon's head, changed him and his accomplices to stones, and placed Dictys on the throne. He then went with his mother Danae, and his wife Andromeda, to Argos; when Acrisius, alarmed at his being still living, and the great achievements he had performed, retired to Larissa, a city of Pelasgia. Tantalus having soon after caused some funereal games to be celebrated in honour of his deceased father, Perseus repaired thither, as did also a great number of Grecian princes, and among others, Acrisius; when Perseus throwing a discus, or coit, it unfortunately fell on the foot of Acrisius, and caused his death. Thus the grand-father

was unable to avoid the destiny of which the grand-son was fated to be the instrument.

The farther we advance the more extraordinary are the adventures attributed by fable to the kings of Argos. Alcmene, the wife of Amphytrion, was deceived by Jupiter, who prolonged a night to three times its ordinary length to render her mother of Hercules. This hero began his labours after a fit of frenzy, in which he murdered his wife Megarā, and his twelve children. Thyestes dishonoured by force the wife of his brother Atreus, who in return served up to him, at an entertainment, the flesh of his own son. Agamemnon, the most powerful monarch of the Greeks, commanded the Grecian army at the siege of Troy. He sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, was murdered by his wife Clytemnestra, and avenged by his son Orestes, whose name cannot be pronounced without recalling to memory that of Pylades. These two heroes, celebrated for their friendship, disputed, in Taurica, which should die for the other; till the tyrant, moved by their mutual attachment, permitted both to live.

The reigns which follow offer only events that were very common in those times: rapes, treasons, revengeful retaliations, murders, and, especially, a number of oracles, to which recourse was continually had, notwithstanding their ambiguity was frequently the cause of the most fatal errors. It will, doubtless, be presumed that care

was taken to secure success, and that the oracle was founded on previous information and precautions. But it must be confessed that chance sometimes favoured them; yet was some address requisite to apply this chance to the prophesy.—“You shall conquer,” said the oracle at Delphi to the Argives, “if you are commanded by a general who has three eyes.” While they were in search of this prodigy, they met a one-eyed man mounted on a mule. He and his mule had between them three eyes, and they accordingly appointed him to the command, and he gained the victory. The quarrels which took place, and were almost continual, among all these too neighbouring monarchs, at length disgusted and wearied the Argives, who abolished royalty, and formed themselves into a republic.

ATHENS.

The name of Athens recalls the memory of a people who were the patrons of arts and science and war, and the parents of good taste; but we must dismiss these ideas when we propose to consider this people in their infancy, inhabiting a sterile country, and so simple as to believe themselves born of the earth on which they trod, like the locusts who devoured its productions. They were early distinguished for good faith in commerce, which was the source of their riches. They acquired by it the means of raising great armies. These

Attica, between
Bœotia, the
strait of Eu-
ripius, and
the Ægean
Sea.

were commanded by natives of Athens; and no city, not excepting Rome, ever produced so great a number of able generals.

Kings.

Cecrops built the city of Athens, deified Jupiter, instituted marriage, and rendered it a sacred union, and forbade to sacrifice to the gods any living animal. The first priest who violated this law, struck with horror when he had made the blow, threw away the axe, and went into voluntary banishment. Erichthonius being lame in his feet, invented carriages. We shall pass over a number of kings to arrive at Ægeus. He had no children by his wives, and was the subject of the raillery of his brother Pallas, who had fifty sons, without reckoning his daughters. Piqued at these pleasantries, he went to consult the oracle—the ordinary resource—and was directed to have no intercourse with any woman. This method of procuring children appeared singular to Ægeus; and he proceeded to consult Pittheus king of Trœzen, who was famous for his skill in expounding oracles: “The oracle speaks of *women*,” said this expert interpreter; “but I have a daughter, who is a virgin: marry her, and you will soon be convinced of the true meaning of the oracle.” In fact, by this marriage, Ægeus had the celebrated Theseus.

Theseus.

The latter hero imitated Hercules in his labours: like him, he cleared the country of monsters and robbers, and rendered a signal service to the

Athenians. Minos king of Crete required of them every year seven youths and seven maidens, whom he threw to be devoured by the minotaur, a monster half a man and half a bull, the offspring of the lascivious and unnatural passion of Pasiphaë, his daughter. Theseus resolved to free his country from this shameful and barbarous tribute. He embarked for Crete to combat the minotaur, whose death would put an end to the demand. The monster was shut up in a labyrinth, from the windings of which it was impossible to escape. Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, gave Theseus a thread, by the aid of which he vanquished and slew the monster, and brought away with him Ariadne, whom he afterwards abandoned in a desert island, where she was found and consoled by Bacchus. Ægeus, the father of Theseus, had given to the pilot of the ship in which his son embarked a black and a white sail, with directions if he were successful to hoist on their return the white sail. Eagerness to reach the port, and joy at their success, caused this injunction to be forgotten; and Ægeus, who had ascended the heights to watch for the return of his son, seeing the black sail, threw himself headlong into the sea, which from him received the name of the Ægean sea.

Theseus, become king by the death of his father, laboured with earnestness to regulate the government, that he might apply himself entirely to

military achievements. He divided the people into three classes—nobles, labourers, and artificers; enacted laws, established magistrates, and retained no part of the royal authority but the command of the army.

Among his exploits are reckoned, besides his victory over the minotaur, his killing the bull of Marathon, whose horns and hoofs were of brass, and who breathed flames from his nostrils; his defeat of the centaurs; his descent into the infernal regions to carry off Proserpine, at the request of his friend Pirithous. After these achievements he returned to Athens; but found little gratitude in his countrymen for the services he had rendered them. The republican character began to display itself among them; and they were preparing to deliver him up to an enemy, who offered them peace on that condition. Theseus was thus obliged to abandon his ungrateful country, and died in exile.

Several kings succeeded him, and governed with mildness—a quality necessary to the sovereign of a people so difficult to please, and easily offended. The last was named Codrus. He had ruled with so much justice, that, at his death, they took a resolution unexampled in history, and resolved to be governed no longer by kings, lest they should never have another so good and just. We shall find that they afterwards rendered them-

selves one of the most illustrious republic in the world.

BÆOTIA,

The air of Bæotia was thick, and had an influence on the inhabitants, who were considered as not remarkable for vivacity. We are acquainted with but one of their customs, which was, that when they had carried the bride home to her husband, they burned the pole of the carriage in which she had rode before the door, to signify that she was to remain with her husband, and return no more to her parents. In this country were the pass of Thermopylæ, and the cave of Trophonius, into which whoever entered laughed no more during life.

Bæotia, between Attica, Phocis, the strait of Euripus, and Corinth.

Cadmus, one of their kings, introduced among them the Phœnician alphabet, established schools, and taught them commerce, navigation, and the manufacture of brass. He built Thebes, the walls of which were raised by the sound of the lute of Amphion.

Kings.
Cadmus.

An oracle rendered the family of Laius criminal and wretched. It had predicted that the son of that king, and of Jocasta his consort, should kill his father. Laius, to preserve his own life, caused his son to be exposed, who was brought up by some shepherds who found him. Having attained to maturity without knowing his father, he killed him by a kind of accident. Oedipus explained the fa-

Oedipus.

mous enigma of the sphinx—"What animal is that, which walks on four legs in the morning, on two during the day, and on three in the evening?" His answer was—"Man". The Thebans, in reward for this explanation, which was followed by the death of the sphinx, a cruel monster, half a woman and half a lion, that devoured them, engaged Jocasta, their queen, to marry Oedipus. From this marriage, which they knew not to be incestuous, were born Eteocles and Polynices, who hated each other from their cradles. Thebes, shuddering, saw them combat beneath her walls, fall by the swords of each other, and expire while plunging their murderous weapons still deeper into their breasts. Oedipus, when he discovered the secret of his birth, tore out his eyes, and Jocasta killed herself. Wearied with these catastrophes, the Bœotians abolished royalty.

ARCADIA,

Arcadia, between Elis, Argolis, Laconia, and Corinth.

The Arcadians boasted that they were the most ancient people in the world, and *older than the moon*. They at first lived a savage life, scattered in the woods. Pelasgus, one of their kings, collected them in society, and taught them to build themselves dwellings; but their manner of living was extremely frugal, and far removed from luxury, on which account they were esteemed invincible. The Lacedæmonians enquired of the Pythia, by what means they might be subdued:—

“ Though you should be aided by Jupiter and
“ all the gods,” replied the oracle, “ you must not
“ flatter yourselves that you could conquer a war-
“ like people, whose principal dainty is the fruit
“ of the beech.” The women accompanied the
men to the field of battle; and the latter were
sometimes indebted to them for their success. Fond
of war, they frequently went to seek it among
the neighbouring states; and let themselves out
to them, as mercenaries, like the modern Swifs.

When they had exchanged their rude and uncivilized life for the pastoral, the Arcadians excelled in every kind of rural occupation. The men tilled and sowed the ground, hived bees, and spun wool; while the women collected honey, milked the cattle, and made thread and linen of flax. All was activity in this country, perhaps the most beautiful in the world. Arcadia presented the most pleasing and animated scenes; fertile plains, cool vallies, bold eminences, enchanting prospects, limpid fountains, verdant meadows, covered with bounding flocks: in fine, all the riches of Nature, and all her pleasures.

These the Arcadians knew to enjoy, and celebrated in song. Their rural festivals in honour of Pan, the god of shepherds, their pastoral songs, their artful dances, rendered them the favourites of the poets, who delighted in describing their life and manners. It was a happiness to inhabit this charming country, and scarcely less a happi-

ness to recal it to mind. These two sentiments have been forcibly expressed by a painter, who has represented the tomb of a young shepherdess, situate in a thick grove, with this inscription, traced doubtless by the grief of a mother—" And I too " have lived in Arcadia."

A long list of Arcadian kings has come down to us, but nothing curious or interesting relative to any of them, except the last. He was named Aristocrates. In a war between the Lacedæmonians and the Messenians, he had the baseness to betray the latter, who were his allies, and deliver them to their enemies. His subjects, indignant at so black a perfidy, put him to death, dragged his dead body out of their territory, left it to be devoured by wild beasts, and erected, in a neighbouring grove, a column with this inscription: " The wretch who betrayed the Messenians " has at length met the fate he merited: it is in " vain that perfidy hopes to escape punishment."

THESSALY AND PHOCIS.

Theffaly, between Epirus, Macedonia, and Greece. Phocis, between Theffaly, and the sea of Corinth.

Theffaly enjoyed similar advantages to Arcadia, in the purity of the air, fertility, and picturesque scenes. In this country was the delightful vale of Tempe, which the poets have made the theatre of their pastoral scenes. Pleasingly situated between the mountains Ossa, Pelion, and Olympus, it was considered as the garden of the Muses. In the plains of Theffaly was fought the famous

battle of Pharfalia. The country abounded in oxen, and excellent horses; and the Theffalians were in consequence excellent horsemen. The dexterity with which they managed their horses gave birth to the fable of the centaurs, who are placed in their country; and caused their cavalry, which was esteemed the best in Greece, to be in great request.

This country was covered with an inundation in the time of Deucalion; by which all his subjects were swallowed up, he only and his wife Pyrrha escaping. As they were greatly perplexed to discover a means promptly to reproduce the human race, which had been destroyed by the deluge, they were commanded by the oracle to cast stones behind them. Those which Deucalion threw became men, and those cast by Pyrrha, women. This method of repeopling a country, though extremely expeditious, was still less so than that with which Jupiter gratified Æacus, the king of the Myrmidons, a people of Theffaly. A dreadful pestilence having carried off all his subjects, Jupiter, moved by his grief, created him others with a word. In an instant all the ants of the country were changed, according to their sex, into men and women, who immediately took possession of the dwellings of the former inhabitants. Arcadia, after another deluge, was likewise repopled by Cadmus, by a very extraordinary process which had been pointed out to him. An

enormous dragon, produced from slime and mud, became the origin of generation. Cadmus killed him, and, ploughing the earth, sowed it with his teeth, when immediately armed men sprang up from the furrows, and began to fight with each other. A great number of them fell, and Cadmus began to fear his labour lost; but at length seven of them who remained made peace, and assisted Cadmus to repeople the country. It is not said whence they obtained their women.

Argonauts.

From Pagasæ, a city and port of Thessaly, the Argonauts set out to fetch the golden fleece, which was guarded by a bull, with brazen feet, and breathing forth flames, and by a terrible dragon. Jason, the nephew of Pelias who sent him on this expedition, built a ship, which he named Argo, whence the name of Argonauts, and on board of it embarked a band of brave adventurers, whom he had assembled. When he arrived in Colchis, Jason presented himself before the king Æetes, in whose garden the treasure was kept; and signified to him the order he had received to carry it away with him. "I consent," replied Æetes, "but you must comply with certain conditions. Here are some remaining teeth of the dragon of Cadmus. You must yoke the bull which guards the fleece, and with him plough the ground, and sow it with these teeth. Armed men will immediately spring up, which if you can vanquish and kill, you will

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“ only have to lull to sleep the monstrous serpent,
“ which likewise guards the fleece, and it is
“ your’s.”

These extraordinary conditions perplexed Jason; but love and magic extricated him from his embarrassment. Medea, the daughter of *Æetes*, skilled in enchantments, conceived a violent passion for him, and furnished him with means to tame the bull; to destroy the armed men, for which it was only necessary to throw stones at them; and to lull to sleep the dragon. He carried off the fleece, and Medea fled with him. Her father pursued her; and she cut in pieces her brother *Abfyr-tus*, whom she had taken with her, and scattered his limbs behind her on the road. Her father, as she had foreseen, stopped to gather them up, and thus gave time to the daughter to escape.

Having arrived in *Theffaly*, Medea found there two old men: *Æson*, the father of Jason, and *Pelias*, his uncle, who had usurped the throne, and had only sent his nephew to bring him the golden fleece in the hope that he would perish in the attempt. Jason requested Medea to renew the youth of his father. She caused the old man to be cut in pieces, which she threw into a brazen vessel, with certain potent herbs, and boiling them together, pronouncing at the same time magical words, *Æson* came out of the cauldron vigorous, healthy, and with all the graces of youth renewed. The

daughters of Pelias, seeing this kind of resurrection, solicited the same favour for their father; Medea appeared willing to grant it, and directed them to proceed in the same manner as she had done with Jason. They did not hesitate; but cut their father in pieces, and boiled them in the cauldron. The sorceress, however, suppressed either the herbs or the vivifying words, and left the wretched girls to lament that they had sacrificed their father without success. Thus Medea avenged Jason, and placed him on the throne of which his uncle had deprived him. The expedition of the Argonauts is supposed to have been a trading voyage, which produced to the Thessalians great riches, though purchased by great difficulties and dangers.

Achilles.

Achilles was a king of Thessaly. The goddess Thetis, his mother, knew that if he went to the siege of Troy he would be slain; but that Troy could not be taken without him. As she was certain that the confederate Greeks would use every means to obtain him, she sent him to the court of Lycomedes king of Scyros, in the dress of a female. But he could not remain long concealed from the subtle Ulysses, who went in the disguise of a merchant, and offered toys and jewels for sale to the daughters of Lycomedes. With these he likewise shewed some arms, which Achilles no sooner perceived than he chose them, and was thus discovered. His sex, it is at the same time to be

observed, was not absolutely unknown to all the maidens of the court.

The Theffalians and the Phocians were inveterate enemies. The former had the superiority, by means of their cavalry; but when the Phocians could draw them among their mountains, they were certain of victory. The predominant character of the Phocians appears to have been obstinacy; they knew not what it was to yield. On a certain occasion, being hard-pressed by the Theffalians, they shut up the statues of their gods, their women and children, in a city; and gave orders to their slaves, whom they left behind them, to set fire to it if they were vanquished. Their resolution became proverbial, by the name of *Phocian despair*. At another time they made head against all Greece, which had condemned them to a fine for having ploughed a piece of land consecrated to Apollo: they were defeated; but returned to the charge, and were again beaten. Their antagonists, however, thought it better to leave them to themselves, than hazard the effects of that despair of which they were known to be capable.

Apollo, whose property they so little respected, ^{Delphi.} had, however, in the midst of them, in the city of Delphi, his principal temple. This, in its origin, was only a deep cavern, with a narrow entrance, from which issued an exhalation remarkable for the extraordinary emotions it excited in the goats which approached it. The shepherds were in-

duced by curiosity to approach it likewise; when they were suddenly seized with a kind of phrenzy, leaping like madmen, and foretelling future events: some even threw themselves into the cavern. To prevent these accidents in future, every person was forbidden to approach it. Afterwards a tripod was placed over the aperture, which did not prevent the exhalation. Its virtue became celebrated. Refinements were adopted in the means of receiving the vapour that produced these divine effects; and the obscure and scarcely intelligible sentences uttered by the priestesses, when consulted, were considered as oracles. Phocis contained the mountains Parnassus and Cithæron, the abode of the muses; and was watered by the Cephissus, a river celebrated by the poets.

CORINTH.

Corinth,
between
Peloponne-
sus and the
sea.

The state of Corinth was only a mountain, with a citadel on its summit, the capital at its foot, and a city on each of the sides of the isthmus, were it joined the main-land: an admirable position, which rendered Corinth the centre of the commerce of all Greece, and consequently of its riches. The arts were there carried to the highest degree of perfection. The most elegant of the orders of architecture still retains the name of the Corinthian.

With the cultivation of the arts prevailed likewise luxury and debauchery. Courtisans there sold their favours for an enormous price. De-

mosthenes, to whom one of these shameful bargains was proposed, replied: "I will not purchase repentance so dearly." It was from the difficulty of obtaining these favours, that the proverb originated—"It is not permitted to every one to go to Corinth."

This small state rendered itself formidable to all Greece, by the mercenary soldiers which its riches enabled it to pay. The command of them was always reserved to the citizens, and several celebrated generals were produced in this school.

The sceptre did not always continue in the same family, nor was it always swayed with the same authority. The first king of Corinth was Sisyphus, who was killed by Tantalus; and, after his death, condemned by Jupiter continually to roll up a steep hill a huge stone, which constantly escapes from him and rolls back again, when he is on the point of reaching the top.

We here find again Jason and Medea, fugitives from Thessaly, whence they had been driven. Jason became enamoured of Glauce, the daughter of the king; and the enchantress, furious with jealousy, killed the children she had by Jason, set fire to the palace, and took flight in a car drawn by serpents. Bellerophon, the son of a king of Corinth, is celebrated for two great achievements. He vanquished the Amazons, and killed the chimæra. To enable him to perform the latter exploit, Minerva procured him the horse Pegasus,

and taught him how to manage him. He attempted to fly up to heaven, but was thrown headlong down, and died blind.

Corinth was adorned with temples, palaces, porticoes, theatres, baths, fountains, tombs, and superb edifices of various kinds. Water raised at a great expence up the mountain, was reconveyed down in marble canals, and distributed through the city. The citadel was extremely strong, and for a long time impregnable. It is observed, that the Corinthians never made conquests; they seem only to have armed to hold the balance between their neighbours, and preserve its equilibrium. The great riches acquired at Corinth by commerce at length eclipsed royalty, which ended in an aristocracy under annual magistrates.

LACEDÆMON.

Lacedæmon, between Peloponnesus, Arcadia, Messenia, and the Mediterranean.

The primitive name of the inhabitants of this country was Laconians; Spartans the second, from Sparta their capital; and Lacedæmonians the third, from one of their first kings. On the coast were a number of excellent ports, and the Eurotas, the principal river of Laconia, was navigable to Sparta. The country is mountainous, fertile in pasturage, but little favourable to agriculture. The Lacedæmonians were a brave people, and equally able to make war by land and sea. They were enemies to indolence and luxury; jealous of their honour and their liberty, and not less of the power of their neighbours.

They were at first governed by one sole king ; but family interests afterwards established two sovereigns, who did not command alternately, or rule over different parts of the kingdom, but who occupied together the same throne. This form of government, though so exposed to dissensions, continued under more than fifty kings ; but rivalry and contest were perpetual. Every prince endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the people, that his influence and power might exceed that of his colleague. Anarchy was at its height when Lycurgus was applied to, to reform and regulate the government. He dared not, or could not, abolish the double regal authority ; but he established a senate superior to the two kings, and which held the balance between them.

We find great names among the ancient kings of Lacedæmon. Tyndarus was the father of Castor and Pollux, Helena and Clytemnestra. It is well known that he could not boast of the virtues of his two daughters ; the one of whom suffered herself to be repeatedly carried off, and the other murdered her husband, in order to marry her gallant. To Tyndarus succeeded Castor and Pollux, celebrated for their heroic achievements ; and Menelaus, who excited the war against Troy. Of Amyclas, who reigned before these, little is known, except that he built the city of Amyclæ. In this city was frequently heard, during the night, a noise resembling that of soldiers taking possession

of a town. The citizens ran to arms, and hastened to the place, but found no enemies. Wearied with these false alarms, they passed a law forbidding any one on such occasions to take arms, or prepare for defense, thinking it unnecessary. But the Dorians, with whom they were at war, undeceived them. Perhaps they were not ignorant of the causes of these noises; but whether they were or not, they took advantage of the decree, and surprized the city without defense. The Amyclæans well deserved such a fate, for they were a superstitious and credulous people, attached to the doctrine of Pythagoras, which forbade them to kill any living creature; an injunction they so scrupulously observed, that they would not even kill serpents, though they frequently suffered severely by the bite of those noxious reptiles.

Sous.

Sous, one of the last of the Lacedæmonian kings of these fabulous and heroic ages, finding himself shut up with his army in a dry and barren place, where they suffered extremely for want of water, proposed to the enemy to restore all he had conquered from them, if they would let him and his army drink at a neighbouring spring. The condition being accepted, Sous assembled his soldiers, and offered to resign the crown to him who would abstain from drinking; but not one was to be found who would comply with the terms. When they had all drank, the king took some of the water in the hollow of his hand, and sprinkled

his face with it, but without drinking a drop. By the victory he thus gained over his thirst, he contended that the contract he had made was become void, as his army only had drank, and not he; and thus kept both his booty and his conquests. The Lacedæmonians had then only one king. It is not known when they began to have two kings, which led them, in fact, to a republican form of government, under which they became so celebrated.

ELIS.

The inhabitants of Elis are supposed to have been descended from Elifha, the son of Javan, and grand-son of Japhet. It is observed, that they and the Arcadians boasted that they were aborigines of Peloponnesus, or settled in that country from the time of the deluge, without any mixture of foreigners. They found on their coasts a shell-fish from which they procured a purple dye as beautiful as that of the Tyrians.

Elis, between the Ionian sea, Arcadia, and Achaia.

In the plains of Olympia were celebrated the games which thence take their name, and were so famous in Greece. They have furnished chronologists with an æra, and authentic dates. The people of Elis and Pisa long contended for the right of celebrating these games, which was finally adjudged to the former, within whose territory was the town of Olympia, and the temple of the Olympian Jupiter.

In Elis were the stables of king Augeas, which Hercules cleansed. This was one of the labours imposed on him, and not the least, if we may judge by the number of beasts the stables contained, and which is said to have amounted to one hundred thousand. The demi-god had only to turn the course of the river, which he caused to pass through them, and which carried off all the filth.

ÆTOLIA.

Ætolia,
between
Locris,
Phocis,
Acarnania,
and the bay
of Corinth.

On the banks of Evenus, a river of Ætolia, Hercules killed the centaur Nessus, who had offered violence to Deianira, his mistress. This country is rugged, and full of mountains, some of which are so steep, that, without walls or fortifications, they served in time of war for asylums, in which the inhabitants deposited their most valuable effects. In them they likewise laid up the booty, which they took in their incursions into the neighbouring states. They were seldom at peace, and these expeditions were their principal wars. The inhabitants of Pleuron, one of their cities of greatest note, shaved the fore part of the head to deprive their enemies of any hold in that part; but they suffered their hair to grow behind, that they might be caught by it if they were so cowardly as to offer to fly.

LOCRIS AND DORIS.

The air of these countries is healthy and mild. They contain a number of mountains, but likewise extensive plains. The Dorians were conquerors, and made themselves feared beyond their own vicinity.

Locris, near Phocis.

Doris, between Thessaly, Phocis, and Ætolia.

ACHAIA.

To conclude what is sufficient to be known relative to the fabulous, and, as they are styled, heroic times of Greece, we shall observe that the greater part of the kings that have been mentioned, and still more of those omitted, were only petty chiefs of tribes, and frequently the leaders of bands of robbers. The imagination of the poets, and the flattery of historians, have embellished their exploits, which on a closer inspection will generally be found to have been only acts of violence and injustice. Nothing is recorded of the kings of Achaia; we only know that the people of that country, wise amid the general phrenzy, were governed by regular assemblies, which afterward became the centre of the deliberations of all Greece.

Achaia, between Sicyon, Elis, Arcadia, and Corinth.

ATHENIANS.

Having thus given a slight sketch of the state of the republics of Greece in the fabulous and heroic times, we shall proceed to the later and more authentic history of the principal among them.

We have seen that the Athenians, despairing of Archons.

ever having again so good a king as Codrus, took the singular resolution that they would have no more kings; but, from gratitude, they chose from his family their first magistrate, whom they denominated *an archon*. They fixed the duration of this office, for the same person, at ten years. The family of Codrus becoming extinct, they rendered this magistracy annual; and, instead of one, chose nine archons, who had each a separate department. They were elected by the people, but taken from among the nobility. The Athenians had then no written laws; the magistrate decided according to his own ideas of justice and injustice. Draco appeared, and drew them up a code.

Draco, 2375.

He was an archon, and of illustrious birth. He is accused of severity, and even of cruelty: his laws, it has been said, were written with blood. He, however, took for the basis of them the principles already revered among the Athenians; and which, properly explained, would be themselves sufficient:—"Honour your parents: adore the gods: hurt not living creatures." He condemned, without pity, to death all who violated his laws; the execution of which he entrusted to the Ephetæ. Even inanimate objects did not escape his severity. A statue having fallen on a man and killed him, was condemned to banishment, and no person dared to keep it. Either because he endeavoured to maintain his institutions with too much firmness, or from some other motive, Draco

was himself banished. He retired to Ægina. The favour of the people of that island proved more fatal to him than the enmity of the Athenians. He expired, stifled, under the great quantity of robes, bonnets, and cloaks, which they threw on him as a testimony of their esteem, according to the custom of that time.

It may be observed that at Athens there was almost always some civil contest, or foreign war; that the disturbers of the people rarely suffered them to be at rest; but sometimes terrified them by ill-boding omens, and sometimes intoxicated them, so to speak, with pleasures—with public festivals, accompanied with expiatory sacrifices and ceremonies, a kind of magical rites to enchant the multitude.

The people of Athens could only be acted on by ^{Solon.} objects that were extraordinary. Solon, the great legislator, knew this so well, that he began his mission by an act that resembled that of a madman. The Megarensians had taken Salamis from the Athenians; and the latter, having made several fruitless attempts to regain it, had decreed that whoever should propose to make any further efforts for its recovery should be punished with death. Solon, either because he was impressed with the importance of retaking this place, or wishing to make himself known by an act which might greatly excite the public attention, ran into the market-place, in a loose undress, with his night cap on his

head, and mounting the stool of the common cryer, began to recite to the people, who gathered round him in crowds, a poem that he had composed, the subject of which was the retaking of Salamis. He delivered it with such animation, that his audience soon caught his enthusiasm: the attack of Salamis was resolved on, and Solon appointed to command the expedition. He succeeded; and, afterwards, other victories obtained him the reputation of an able general. But the character which procured Solon a celebrity which the lapse of so many ages has not been able to diminish, is that of legislator of Athens.

That city, continually a prey to dissensions, was then distracted with the most dangerous of all, the insurrection of the poor against the rich. The latter lent their money at exorbitant interest, of which they rigorously required payment, so that their debtors, who were insolvent, were obliged to sell themselves to their creditors, or were seized and sold by them, and transported out of their country. Reduced to despair by this rigid treatment, the debtors declared that they would reform the government, deliver those who had been made slaves by their creditors, and make a new division of the lands. They sought a leader, and turned their eyes on Solon.

His mildness and moderation procured him equally the esteem and love of both parties. An expression which he frequently repeated, and which

each party considered as favourable to its pretensions, gained him their confidence: "Equality," said he, "occasions no contest." He means the equality of power, said the rich; it must be the equality of property, exclaimed the poor. Thus, with one consent, they all chose him to determine their disputes, and regulate their interests:—the rich, because he was rich; the poor, because he was just.

Several of his friends advised him to profit by the opportunity, to place himself on the throne: "It is my glory," said he afterwards, to some of them, "that I have not sullied my fame with the name of tyrant. It depended only on me to give a mortal blow to the Athenians; yet I have not done it. I have therefore no cause to blush at a conduct which few persons would have held in my place." He contented himself with the dignity of archon, which was unanimously bestowed on him without election.

His first care was to allay the fermentation then existing, by granting to the power some relief which was not burthenfome to the rich. It is supposed that he effected this by an operation of finance, which he called a *discharge*. For this, two things were sufficient:—to lower the interest of money, and to raise its value. By the diminution of the interest, the poor man found that he owed less; and by the raising of the value of money, it was more easy for him to pay by the produce of his la-

bour; while the rich, at the same time, experienced no very considerable change in their fortune.

It cannot be supposed that this expedient, though it might suffice for the moment, would put an end to all the discontents and claims of the common people, who had always been very eager for an equal division of the lands. Solon was obliged to compromise with them. He decreed the abolition of all debts, on condition that the lands should remain to the proprietors. Three of his friends, to whom he had communicated his project before he proposed it to the assembly of the people, treacherously availed themselves of the information, by borrowing large sums of money, and buying land with it. It was at first suspected that Solon shared with them their profits, and he was exposed to no little danger. But his character was soon cleared from this imputation, and his integrity and good faith were the more admired when it was known that he had lost considerable sums that he had out at interest, and which he might have called in, and that he was almost ruined by his own law. "I was lately your favourite," said he, on this occasion, to the people; "but now you view me with a distrustful and an angry eye. Do I deserve this reward for my services?" The Athenians acknowledged their fault, and instituted a solemn sacrifice to perpetuate the memory of their acquiescence in the measure recommended by Solon. They, at the same

time, conferred on him the office of legislator, and authorized him to make laws, and alter and modify as he should judge expedient those already established.

The laws of Solon, with respect to the government of the state, are short and clear. The sovereign power belonged to the whole people; the execution of the laws was confided to the principal persons. The people were divided into four classes; the three first of which were composed of persons possessing property, according to their different proportions of it; and the fourth of those who possessed none. The latter could hold no offices, but they might vote in the assembly of the people. Solon purposely left some obscurity in his laws, that the necessity of occasionally consulting the people might give to the lowest class an influence sufficient to content them. The council of the areopagus, consisting of a hundred members, all of whom had exercised public functions, was appointed to watch over the constitution; and a council of four hundred members, selected from each class, to examine every proposal before it was laid before the people, and determine whether it ought to be presented. Thus Solon restrained the ambition of the rich by the areopagus, and the excessive licentiousness of the people by the council. Solon exulted in having established the government on so solid a basis: "I have," said he, "given sufficient

“ authority to the common people. I have nei-
 “ ther granted too much, nor taken away the
 “ rights of any person by my laws. I have re-
 “ strained within just bounds those who surpassed
 “ others in power or riches; and have thus pre-
 “ served to every one what appertained to him,
 “ and done no injury either to the higher or the
 “ lower classes.”

Solon likewise enacted a law which ought to be considered as the palladium of his political edifice. At first view it may appear extravagant; but in reality it evinces great political sagacity. It was conceived in the following words:—
 “ Should the people, actuated by a spirit of fac-
 “ tion, divide into two parties, and take up arms
 “ against each other; whoever shall refuse to en-
 “ gage on one side or the other, but endeavour
 “ to retire, and withdraw himself from the cala-
 “ mities of his country, shall be condemned to
 “ perpetual banishment, and all his property shall
 “ be confiscated.” The experience of all ages has justified the policy of this law. Those who in a moment of commotion, through fear or indifference, have abstained from declaring their opinion, and obeyed without resistance the impulse given them, have ever repented, but too late, of their indolence, when they have seen the government overturned, and the conquering party devote them likewise to proscription and death.

After having regulated the general form of the

republic, Solon gave the Athenians a body of laws. They were held in such high estimation, that the Romans sent ambassadors to transcribe them, for the use of their republic. From the Romans they passed to other nations, and have become, as it were, the code of the world. We shall give an abstract of such of them as are best adapted to make us acquainted with the manners of the Athenians.

The nearest relation of an heiress might demand her in marriage; and she had the same right with respect to him. On his refusal, which subjected him to a fine, applied as her dowry, she might have recourse to the next of kin to him; and he who should take her was obliged to treat her as a husband at least thrice in every month. The legislator apparently apprehended that he who should take her merely in compliance with the law, might think himself entitled to dispense with every other obligation. A bride who was not an heiress was allowed to bring her husband only three gowns, and some household furniture of little value. This was to prevent marriage from degenerating into a mercenary traffic. The bride and bridegroom were shut up in a room, and there ate a quince, which fruit rendered the breath sweet, and also implied that their discourse ought to be pleasant to each other. Solon likewise made regulations to restrain ex-

penfive funerals, which had been carried to fuch an extravagant height as to become ruinous. Women were not to follow the deceased to the grave unlefs they were fixty years of age ; nor to tear their faces except for thofe who were near of kin. He permitted estates and effects to be bequeathed by will ; but adopted perfons might not difpofe of property appertaining to the family into which they had been incorporated.

He feverely forbid all perfonal abufe, in the temples, the courts of juftice, or the theatres, during the performance of the fpectacles, or fports, left the reverence due to the laws and the public joy fhould be diminifhed. Women were not to travel by night without a torch. A fon was not obliged to maintain his father, if he had not taken care that he fhould be taught fome trade. The areopagus was to enquire into the means by which every one fubfifted. Any perfon might profecute another for the crime of idlenefs ; and he who was thrice convicted of it was declared infamous. The husband who furprized his wife in adultery might kill the adulterer ; and the woman thus detected was deprived of the pleafure of wearing any kind of ornaments : if fhe put them on, any perfon might tear them off, and beat her befides. He who prostituted girls, even his own daughter, was only liable to a fine ; but this was not exacted if the father had firft found her with a gallant.

The tendency of these laws was likewise to prevent, as well as to punish, their violation. The prodigal who by his extravagance had put it out of his power to relieve his parents, was disqualified for any public employment: for how should he who was not able to conduct his own affairs be capable of directing those of the state? Those who frequented infamous women were not allowed to address the people in the public assemblies; for what claim could an immodest man have to the confidence of the people? Demosthenes strongly insisted that this law should be put in force against an orator whose eloquence he feared.

A guardian could not marry the mother of his ward. An engraver might not keep an impression of the seals he sold, that he might not counterfeit them. He who committed theft in the day-time, was delivered up to justice; in the night he might be killed on the spot, or in the pursuit. A robbery committed in the Lyceum, the Academy, or in the havens, where the effects were considered as confided to the public faith, was punished with death. An archon, who was the chief magistrate, if seen drunk in public was punished with death; for of what value could life be to him who was become an object of general contempt? A man who continued to live with his wife after she had been surprized in adultery was declared infamous. He who had refused to march against the enemy, had fled from the army, or shewed any evident signs

of cowardice, was not allowed to wear any crown or wreath, nor admitted into any solemn assembly. He enacted but few laws relative to religion ; and none against parricide : “ I cannot even suppose,” said he, “ that any Athenian can ever be guilty of a crime so horrid.”

Such is the summary of the laws of Solon. They shew great discernment, and a profound knowledge of mankind. Yet when he was asked what he himself thought of them, he replied : “ I do not pretend that I have given the Athenians the best laws possible ; but I have given them the best they were capable of receiving.”

Athens.

There have been few cities that have preserved monuments of their ancient splendor in so entire a state as they are found at Athens. It must be highly grateful to the traveller, while he walks among these august remains, to say : This temple of beautiful marble, built with such consummate art, was erected by Pericles, and dedicated to Minerva. That other near it, in equally good preservation, is that of Neptune. He seems still to see the Athenian youths hastening to that of Theseus, to perform their exercises ; and slaves seeking in it an asylum from the cruelty of their masters. While admiring the pantheon, he must indeed regret the two horses, the work of Praxiteles, which adorned its entrance. Under these porticoes, the ruins of which still inspire us with reverence, the stoics, the academics, the peri-

patetics, listened to the lessons of Aristotle, Zeno, Socrates, and Plato. Here Demosthenes detected and confounded the projects of Philip against liberty; there Alcibiades related his victories; and there assembled the areopagus, to whose authority and decision they were all subject.

The great number of Athenians employed in the administration, and the police, cannot but excite our surprize. They were all payed from the public treasury, but not so profusely as to supersede the necessity of other means of subsistence; so that we have still to enquire what was the source of the wealth of the three first classes. It could not be agriculture; for the soil of Attica was ungrateful, and could at most only supply necessaries, and not riches, unless they received them from the conquered countries in their vicinity, as the Venetians derive theirs from the Terra Firma. Their riches must therefore have been principally derived from contributions and plunder; so that we ought not to be surprized that they were always at war. Solon did not touch on this subject in his laws: we do not find one which has a relation to the justice due to foreign states, or prescribing the motives that may authorize the commencement or continuance of war.

When he returned from his travels he found the edifice which he had taken so much pains to erect already tottering, and ready to fall. The old factions were renewed: they all paid their

court to him; affected to shew him the greatest respect; conjuring him to resume his authority, and restore tranquillity to the city. But he refused this commission, alleging his great age. He had, however, an interview with the chiefs of the different parties, and conjured them, in the most pathetic terms, not to give a mortal blow to their common mother; but to sacrifice their individual interests to the public advantage.

Pisistratus,
2439.

Of all these leaders Pisistratus appeared to be the most affected by the discourse of Solon. They were relations and intimate friends, and had several traits of conformity in their characters. Pisistratus was extremely courteous, affable, and generous. When he went abroad he had always with him two or three slaves, and if he met with any poor persons relieved their wants before they could even solicit his aid. Those who from poverty were sunk into melancholy he furnished with the means of procuring a subsistence, but not of living in idleness. He had all the qualities suitable to a man of high rank. His garden and orchards were always open, and any person might walk in them and gather the fruit. He was a zealous defender of equality among the citizens, declared against every kind of innovation, and displayed the greatest mildness and moderation in his conduct. Solon perceived the object of all his artifices, but was unwilling to come to a rupture with him, hoping he might be able to reclaim him. "Where it

“not for your ambition,” he would sometimes say to him, “you would be one of the best citizens of Athens.” When Solon saw that his discourse made no impression on Pisistratus, he warned all his friends to be on their guard against him, and to endeavour to prevent his good qualities from becoming fatal to his country.

At this time appeared Thespis, who is considered as the inventor of tragedy. The Athenians crowded to his exhibitions: the theatre is always useful to factions. Solon went with the rest, and, as they were coming out, said to Thespis. “Are you not ashamed to tell publicly so many lies?” “What harm can they do?” replied Thespis; “all know they are merely poetical fictions, and that we are only in jest.” “Yes,” replied Solon, “but if once we permit ourselves these lies in jest, we shall soon find that they will make their way into our most serious affairs.”

What Solon had foreseen with respect to Pisistratus soon after came to pass. That subtle politician perceiving how well he had succeeded in his endeavours to gain the attachment of the people, resolved to take advantage of it to possess himself of the sovereign power. He one day came precipitately into the place where the people were assembled, as if he were pursued, and shewed them some slight wounds that he said he had received, but which he had made himself. He requested

that a guard might be allowed him. Solon opposed him, and said every thing he could to open the eyes of the Athenians to the consequences of granting this request. Pisistratus spoke in reply, and his speech was received with great applause. Solon contented himself with saying: "His words are certainly very smooth and specious." The people grew warm. The rich, who saw clearly what turn the affair would take, said nothing, and Solon retired.

As soon as Solon had left the assembly a guard of four hundred men was granted to Pisistratus, and he soon employed them to seize on the sovereign power. To effect this he employed the following stratagem. He appointed an assembly, and invited the people to come to it armed. When the assembly met, he began to harangue in a low voice. The people complained that they could not hear him. "It is the clang of your arms," said he, "which drowns my voice." He therefore requested them to deposit their arms in a neighbouring temple; and when they were there, his guards carried them off, and he caused himself to be declared sovereign. Solon, on this occasion, likewise, strenuously opposed him, at which Pisistratus expressed great surprize. "What has inspired you with so much courage?" said he to Solon. "My old age," replied the philosopher.

In other respects, Solon and Pisistratus behaved

towards each other with the greatest civility and respect. The latter, indeed, left Athens, but Pisistratus made every effort, though without effect, to induce him to return. He endeavoured to justify his conduct to the man he esteemed, and represented to him that, far from abolishing, or disregarding his laws, he was particularly careful to maintain them. He entreated him, in the most friendly and affectionate manner, to return and end his days in his country. "Return," said he, "Solon shall never suffer any injury from Pisistratus: this declaration I need not confirm with an oath. My most inveterate enemies cannot distrust me in this. If you will consent to be among the number of my friends, you shall be the first. Live at Athens as you may think proper; but let not me be the cause of depriving our country of you." The answer of Solon is not less remarkable. The word *tyrant*, which is found in it, must not be thought harsh and offensive; for it was the name then generally given to kings, and not used in an insulting or reproachful sense. "I am fully persuaded," said he, "that you will do me no injury. Before you was a tyrant I was your friend; and now I am no more your enemy than every other Athenian who disapproves of your tyranny. Let the people decide which is the best government, your's, or the democracy that I had established. As for me, I declare

“ you to be the best of tyrants.” He afterwards excuses himself from returning, because his return would seem to shew that he approved what had been done. In fact, he died in the exile he had chosen, and Athens erected statues to his memory. Letters that passed between Solon and Pisistratus have come down to us unmutilated; and it were to be wished that the reciprocal politeness and respect observable in them might be imitated by those who in times of disturbances think differently, especially the leaders of parties: but they possessed probity, and an esteem for each other.

Pisistratus, who had deceived the people to render himself their master, was deserted by them when a more powerful faction arose. The Athenians even suffered him to be driven out, and his property confiscated. No person, indeed, would purchase any part of it, through fear he should return; and the caution afterwards appeared to be prudent; for Pisistratus, having united himself by marriage to the party that had expelled him, saw himself again in a condition to recover the sovereign power. This was not very difficult, since having no longer any enemies among the great, he had only the credulity of the common people to impose upon. His emissaries reported through the city, that Minerva herself would bring back Pisistratus to the citadel; and the next day appeared, in a triumphal car, a woman of extra-

ordinary stature, and very beautiful. She was adorned with all the attributes of Minerva, and thus passed through the city, with Pisistratus by her side. The people worshipped, and did not even think of doubting. Had they made the least enquiry, they would have found that the pretended goddess was a girl without birth or fortune, who had been instructed to act this part, and who, for performing it so well, was afterwards married to Hipparchus, the son of him she had thus restored to power.

The triumph of Pisistratus was not of long duration. A faction forced him once more to leave the city and abandon the sovereign power. He had twice obtained it like a fox: the third time he seized it as a lion. His friends supplied him with troops; and a party in his interest, within the city, seconded his efforts. He surprized the Athenians, who were very negligent in their defence, and without much effusion of blood re-entered the city, first declaring an amnesty. He then mingled rigour with his former mildness. Some of the most obstinate democrats were banished. As he knew by experience that factions are engendered and nourished by idleness, continual intercourse, and frequent meetings; he endeavoured to give employment to the Athenians, and sent as many of them as he could from the city into the country. By these and other means

at once mild and beneficial he procured himself a tranquil reign.

The Athenians paid as a tax the tenth part of their rents. But though the money raised by this tax was applied solely to the service of the state, it rendered Pisistratus, who had imposed it, odious. One day, while walking in the country, he chanced to see an old man creeping among the rocks, and gathering something. Pisistratus asked him what he was doing in that strange place, and what were the fruits of his labour. "Troubles," replied the old man, "and these few plants of wild sage; and of these too Pisistratus must have the tenth." The next day he sent for the old man, and exempted him from any tax for the remainder of his life.

He once found himself considerably embarrassed by some young men who had been drinking at a feast, and meeting his wife in the streets had insulted her grossly. They came, the next day, to throw themselves at the feet of Pisistratus, and entreat his pardon. To have admitted their guilt, and not to have punished them, would have set a dangerous example. He therefore heard them very graciously, and, when they had ended, said to them: "I would advise you, gentlemen, to be more modestly for the future; but as for my wife she was not abroad yesterday." If he was willing to palliate the faults of others, he

could likewise with great address prevail on others to excuse his own. He had once given offense to some of the principal citizens of Athens, who had retired to the castle of Phylæ highly irritated. The next day he went thither to them, taking with him a large cloak-bag. "What is to be done with this bag?" said they. "I am determined," said he, "either to take you back with me to Athens, or to stay here with you; if you are resolved to stay, there is my bag-gage." They returned with him.

He left his power to his two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus. It is not known whether they possessed it conjointly. The opposite party conspired their death. Hipparchus only was killed. He was a man of a mild disposition, and inherited all the virtues of his father. Hippias, who till then had displayed the same good qualities, enraged at the death of his brother, became ferocious and cruel. He caused Aristogiton, one of his principal conspirators, to be put to the torture. The wretched sufferer, when questioned with respect to his accomplices, named a number of the friends and partisans of Hippias, who were put to death without farther examination. He then named more; and when Hippias asked him if there were not still some others, he replied, with a smile, "I know of none, now, but yourself, who deserve to suffer death." On the same occasion,

a courtesan, named Leæna, fearing that she should be overcome by the violence of the tortures, and impeach her lover, bit off her tongue, and spat it into the face of Hippias.

These cruelties so incensed the Athenians against him, that they drove him out, and swore eternal hatred to him and his family. Hippias, on his part, made every effort to raise up enemies against them. The seeds of rivalry between Athens and Lacedæmon had already been sown, and this rivalry Hippias inflamed into animosity. The Lacedæmonians asserted that the people of Athens ought not to restore the democracy, because such a government, being tumultuous and mutable, could not be confided in by their allies, who, while it continued, would be unable to enter into any treaty with Athens. The Athenians were greatly offended that the Lacedæmonians should pretend to prescribe them laws; and a furious war commenced between them. Several bloody battles were fought, in which Hippias especially distinguished himself. He even went to Persia to seek for enemies to attack his former subjects. He considered success as the more certain, because by his machinations he had engaged the Athenians in war with almost all their neighbours; and those states which had not declared themselves their enemies remained at least cool and indifferent, so that the Athenians were reduced to almost solely their

own force, when their exiled sovereign brought against them the Persians in the plains of Marathon.

Their little army, which did not consist of more Battle of Marathon. than ten thousand men, was commanded by Miltiades, assisted by Aristides and Themistocles, three men truly estimable for their great qualities, and the services they rendered to the republic, though for them they afterwards all three received but ill rewards. The generals debated the question, whether they should attack the Persians, or wait their attack. Miltiades was for an attack, and his advice prevailed. Aristides had the command on that day, but he generously resigned it to Miltiades; and reserved to himself and Themistocles only the honour of setting an example to the rest. The bravery of the Athenians, who, though so few in number, dared to attack so formidable an army, astonished and intimidated the Persians; and the stern countenances of the Greeks, their discipline and firmness, decided the victory. The remarkable action of Cynegyrus, an Athenian, in this battle, is recorded by historians. When the Persians began to fly, he perceived one of their ships, with a number of fugitives on board, endeavouring to leave the shore. Cynegyrus laid hold of it with his right hand, which was cut off with an ax; he then seized it with his left, which was likewise cut off; when he fell, and died of his wounds. Some authors say, that when he had

lost both his hands, he caught hold of the vessel with his teeth, and that his head was cut off.

The Persians embarked precipitately, intending to sail directly to Athens, and surprize the city, while the army, which contained its whole force, was absent; but Miltiades, who perceived their design, arrived by forced marches in time to save it. Triumphal arches were erected on the field of battle, in honour of the victors. The Athenians, the allies, and even the slaves, who had made the country of their masters their own, and sacrificed their lives in its defense, had each their distinct monument. This victory was represented on the walls of the porticoes of Athens, and the reward of Miltiades was, that his name was there inscribed.

He took advantage of the moment of popular favour which his victory had procured him, to ask the command of a fleet, with which he proposed to sail on a secret expedition. The enterprize, he said, would be productive of great riches, but he did not mention how far it would be just. His request being granted, he proceeded to the isle of Paros. The Parians, however, defended themselves bravely; he was dangerously wounded, and obliged to return home with his shattered ships. He was immediately prosecuted for having abused the confidence of the republic, and engaged it in an expedition at once dishonourable and ruinous; though the Athenian people were equally to blame

for not having first examined the nature of the plan. To this imputation it was added, that he had sacrificed the interests of the republic to his own private quarrel; and only attacked the Parians in revenge for an injury which he pretended to have received from them. So incensed was the multitude against him that they would not allow him to put off his trial till his wounds were healed. An advocate was assigned him, and the cause was tried with great solemnity before the people, who adjudged that Miltiades did not deserve death, but condemned him to pay a fine equivalent to the expense of fitting out the armament. He was unable to pay this sum, and was thrown into prison, where he languished till he died.

The people, contented with being permitted to exercise some acts of sovereignty, never perceived that they were the mere puppet of the great, and made the tool of their passions. There were always too factions in the city; the one in favour of an aristocratic, and the other of a democratic government. The former was supported by the integrity of Aristides, and the latter by the abilities of Themistocles.

Aristides.
Themistocles.

These two men had been brought up together, and from their earliest years an emulation had prevailed between them which had produced a perpetual opposition in their sentiments. This disposition to thwart each other increased as they advanced in life. If one made a proposition, the

other was always ready to oppose it ; and this spirit of contradiction they especially displayed in public affairs. As they both really loved their country, they could not but feel the danger of such conduct ; and one day, Aristides, as he left the assembly of the people, could not refrain from saying : “ The Athenians can never be perfectly safe till they have thrown Themistocles and me “ into the *barathrum*.” This was the dungeon into which criminals were put when condemned to death.

Aristides was of a firm character, inflexible whenever justice was in question, and in that case regarding neither kindred nor friendship ; incapable of yielding either to flattery or interest, which acquired him the surname of *the Just*. Themistocles, on the contrary, was governed by his situation and connections. “ Heaven forbid,” he would say, “ that I should preside on a tribunal, and my relations and friends find no more “ favour than strangers.” He was naturally impetuous, subtle, bold, and capable of having recourse to every kind of means to obtain his purpose. Aristides, on the contrary, could only employ such as were consistent with truth and integrity. He was of one of the first families of Athens, without any mixture of foreign blood, and was a great admirer of the laws of Lycurgus, the severity of which accorded with his character ; and from his attachment to the principles of that legislator be-

came a great partisan of the aristocracy. Themistocles took the opposite side, and declared for the people, to which class he was allied by his mother, who was not of a very distinguished birth.

In the interval of tranquillity which the Athenians enjoyed after the battle of Marathon, the disputes relative to the government recommenced. Themistocles found himself constantly opposed by Aristides, and stopped at every step in his project of ruling by the influence of the people. The ostracism afforded him the means of delivering himself from this incommodious rival.

The ostracism banished for ten years all those who possessed qualities sufficiently distinguished to endanger the public liberty. It was, therefore, the punishment of merit, invented, as the people believed, to diminish the too great power of some individuals, but in fact, a sure and certain means, in the hands of an artful leader of a faction, to remove a wise and resolute man who might prove an obstacle to his pernicious designs.

The method in which banishment was decreed by the ostracism was as follows. Each citizen wrote on a shell the name of the person he proposed should be banished. These shells were numbered, and if there were less than six thousand the ostracism did not take place; but if the number was greater, the person condemned by the majority of votes must leave the country for ten years, with

permission, however, to dispose of his property as he pleased.

Themistocles succeeded in his design, by circulating insinuations that Aristides, by affecting to be called *the Just*, and procuring himself to be chosen arbiter in the greater part of differences, was insensibly assuming a kind of regal power, though without guards, or any of the ostentation of sovereignty: "For," said his emissaries, "what is it that constitutes the tyrant, but the prescribing of laws?" The minds of the populace being thus prepared by these sophisms, the people of the city, and great multitudes from the country, at a time when it was least expected, on a sudden poured into the forum, and demanded the ostracism; which could not be refused them. A countryman from one of the boroughs of Attica, who was unable to write, brought his shell to Aristides, and requested him to write for him the name of Aristides on it—"Why, what harm has Aristides ever done you, my friend?" "No harm at all," replied the countryman; "I should not even know him if I were to see him; but I cannot bear to hear him continually called *the Just*." Aristides smiled, and taking the shell, wrote his name on it. When the magistrates signified to him that the ostracism had fallen upon him, he retired modestly from the forum, and lifting his eyes to heaven, said: "I pray the gods that the Athenians may never

“ see the day which shall force them to remember Aristides.” It is to be remarked, that the ostracism was laid aside at Athens, in consequence of a man of base character having been banished by it. It was then considered as polluted and dishonoured, and no longer used.

Four years passed before the kind of prophecy uttered by Aristides was accomplished. The Persians prepared a formidable invasion in Greece. The principal object of their attack was Athens. Themistocles, who had there rendered himself master, yet was still obliged to manage and pay his court to the people, consulted the oracle; though he had probably already determined what measures he would take. The oracle answered that Athens could only be saved by wooden walls. This Themistocles explained to signify that there was no other resource for the Athenians but to abandon their city, embark on board the fleet he had already fitted out, and fight that of the Persians, before the innumerable army it was preparing to pour upon the coasts of Greece should have overrun the country.

To abandon their city, their houses, their temples, and the tombs of their ancestors, was certainly to be reduced to a severe extremity. And what was to become of the women and children? These reflexions an orator endeavoured pathetically to enforce, to prevent the passing of the decree; but he was stoned in the midst of his

harangue ; and the women, that they might not appear less resolute than the men, stoned his wife. How was it then possible to dispute the explanation of Themistocles ? The priests announced that the sacred dragon refused to eat ; and that he had disappeared. No doubt he had fled from a city which must be abandoned. The goddess herself had preceded him ; some women asserted that they had seen her depart. Who could now wish to stay ? Money was distributed to the poor citizens to enable them to make their preparations ; and as there was not a sufficient sum for this in the public treasury, Themistocles spread a report that the shield of Minerva, on which was engraven the head of Medusa, had been stolen, and that a strict search should be made for it in every house. This was readily permitted ; the shield was not found ; but a great deal of money was ; which was taken for the use of the public.

In this extreme distress the people began to regret Aristides. Themistocles had sufficient confidence in his virtue to cause him and the other persons who had been banished to be recalled, Aristides on his return behaved to him with great affability, and Themistocles acted in the same manner towards him ; both having the greatness of mind to sacrifice their private resentment to the public good.

The battle
of Salamis,
2519.

The Persian and Grecian fleets were in fight of each other, near Salamis, on the coast of

Peloponnesus. Salamis was a name of good omen, which had been inserted as such in the oracle explained by Themistocles. On the approach of the danger which threatened the Athenians, the rest of the states of Greece became sensible that they were exposed to the same, and each hastened to send them succours. The Lacedæmonians principally distinguished themselves, and the command in chief was given to Eurybiades, their general. He opposed the proposition of Themistocles to engage the enemy in the strait. The latter supported his opinion with earnestness, and, perhaps, with too much warmth. Eurybiades lifted his staff. "Strike," said the Athenian, "if you please; but hear me." This moderation disarmed the Lacedæmonian, he yielded to the arguments of Themistocles, and it was resolved to give battle in the strait. But another difficulty now presented itself. The Peloponnesians were unwilling the engagement should take place so near their coasts, as, if lost, it would inevitably expose them to be immediately ravaged. They, therefore, made preparations, during the night, to sail away and leave the fleet on the next day. Themistocles, alarmed at a defection the example of which might prove contagious, dispatched to the Persian fleet a person in whom he could confide, who, professing to be a deserter, told the Persian general that a part of the Greeks, convinced that their defeat was inevitable, were pre-

paring to fly, and that if the Persians did not prevent their escape they would lose a certain and very considerable booty. When the Peloponnesians endeavoured to sail away, the next day, they found the Persians had shut them in, and were compelled to stay and take their share in the engagement.

Before the battle, Aristides, who had attentively observed the actions and every motion of Themistocles, went to him, and thus addressed him : “ If we are wise, we shall now for ever renounce our disputes, and only contend with a noble emulation who shall render most essential service to Greece ; you by commanding, and acting as becomes a brave general, and I by obeying and assisting you with my person and advice. I perceive that you alone have determined rightly by advising to engage the enemy in the strait. Our allies are of a contrary opinion ; but the Persians themselves seem to confirm and strengthen your proposal, by shutting us in on all sides with their ships ; so that even those who would wish to avoid a battle will be obliged to fight, from the impossibility of making their escape.” “ I am ashamed, Aristides,” replied Themistocles, “ that you should thus take precedence of me in generosity. I will exert my utmost endeavours to gain, in my turn, some advantage over you ; and diminish in some measure, if possible, the lustre

“ of your noble conduct this day, by my future achievements.” He then communicated to him the stratagem he had employed to prevent the secession of the Peloponnesian fleet, which was greatly approved by Aristides.

The event of this battle, which ended in the victory of the Greeks, delivered them from their immediate danger ; and the address of Themistocles removed, by a new stratagem, all fear of the destructive projects which Xerxes might yet form and execute with the remainder of his troops. He sent advice, which he pretended to be very secret, to that monarch, that the Greeks designed to break down the bridge that he had thrown over the Hellespont. The king of Persia immediately retreated with precipitation, and his mighty army was dispersed.

Jealousy of the glory of a rival, and national vanity, would not permit the Lacedæmonians to be so just as not to decree the prize of valour to Eurybiades their general ; but they awarded to Themistocles the prize of prudence and sagacity, with a crown of olive. They likewise presented him with an elegant chariot, and loaded him with all the honours by which they could testify their esteem. A general festival was celebrated on the isthmus of Peloponnesus, at which all the chiefs and captains were present. One of the principal motives of this assembly was to ascertain the two among them who had most distinguished themselves at

Salamis, and which was to be determined by their general testimony. Each of the commanders wrote two names in a billet; and these billets being opened, it was found that each of them had assigned himself the first place, and Themistocles the second, which sufficiently proved that Themistocles merited the first.

During these triumphs, Athens suffered the fate which had been predicted, and was destroyed. The Persians wreaked on it their vengeance for the opposition and losses they had suffered, and which they thought principally to be attributed to the Athenians. They had in fact a great share in the victory at Plataea, where they were commanded by Aristides. Their ships, likewise, powerfully assisted the efforts of the other Greeks at Mycale, where the Persian fleet was almost destroyed. Rage and revenge again brought back the Persians to Athens, which was beginning to be rebuilt, and they endeavoured to destroy even its very ruins.

But the city arose once more from its ashes, and soon recovered its power and splendor. The citizens brought back their families which had been dispersed throughout Greece. Themistocles repaired the losses of the public treasury, by a method not very delicate, but such as the strong seldom scruple to enforce against the weak. He sent the fleet to cruise along all the coasts and islands, and exact heavy contributions on those

who would not take part in the war ; thus making them pay dearly for their neutrality. These excursions so much increased the strength of the Athenian navy that it excited the jealousy of the Lacedæmonians.

Athens not only became repeopled and embellished, but was fortified with strong walls. A safe harbour, capable of containing a large fleet, was formed at the Piræus, and united to the city by long walls. The Lacedæmonians saw clearly that if they suffered these works to be completed, there would be an end of the superiority they exercised over the rest of Greece, which would be transferred to the Athenians. They therefore sent deputies to procure an interruption of them. As usual in such negotiations, they did not speak of their own particular interest, but pretended that they were actuated solely by a view to the general advantage. “ If you render Athens,” said they, “ a strongly fortified city, and give it the advantage of a safe and capacious harbour, the Persians, should they possess themselves of it, will take post in it as in an impregnable fortress, and thence give laws to all Greece.” They therefore requested the Athenians to desist from undertakings so prejudicial to the common interest and safety of Greece. After requesting they insisted, and after insisting, commanded. The Athenians were at first inclined to meet insolence with defiance, and break rather than bend; but Themisto-

cles represented to them that the moment was not favourable for such an opposition, which might perhaps irritate the Lacedæmonians to make some violent effort, which might in the end destroy what had been so happily begun. He advised that they should have recourse to a negociation, which he offered to conduct.

He set out with the deputies for Lacedæmon, taking the most circuitous road, and amusing them in every manner he could devise by the way. Yet, notwithstanding all these delays, he arrived before his colleagues in the embassy. At Sparta they were desirous to discuss the affair in question; but he represented to them that he could not treat till the arrival of those who had been joined with him in his commission. His colleagues at length arrived, and, at the same time, intelligence that the works were almost finished. Remonstrances were made on the subject to Themistocles. He denied the fact, which he said was incredible; and when forced to yield in some measure to the proofs advanced, still expressed great doubt, and observed that it would be proper to ascertain the truth of such reports, by sending commissioners to examine the real state of the works. These, when they arrived, perceived how much the Lacedæmonians had been imposed upon, and prepared to return. But Themistocles had sent private directions to stop them, and they were detained till he had set out on his journey home.

When he was told of this deceitful conduct, and the falsehoods with which it was accompanied, he replied: "It was for the good of my country, which renders every action justifiable."

Aristides, notwithstanding he was equally devoted to his country, would never have permitted himself to act in this manner, to procure the greatest advantages to it. This he evinced on the following occasion. Themistocles, ever eager to augment the power and riches of Athens, had conceived a project by which she might be rendered mistress of the sea, and consequently of all the treasures of commerce. With this view he proposed to burn the ships of the other states; and the means were in his power. He declared to the people that he had planned an enterprize which would be extremely advantageous to them, but which required secrecy; and requested that they would authorize him to carry it into execution. The assembly replied that he might communicate it to Aristides, and, if he approved it, it might be executed. Aristides heard his proposal, and reported to the people that the project of Themistocles was the most advantageous to the Athenians that could be proposed, but at the same time the most unjust. The assembly immediately rejected the project. They no doubt recollected that they had been too favourable to a similar proposition made by Miltiades. It is pleasing to see a whole people repent of having been unjust.

The war with which the Greeks were continually threatened by the Persians, caused the resolution to be adopted of maintaining, at the common expence of all the states, an army which should be constantly in readiness to resist any sudden attack. But how was it to be determined what money and troops each state should furnish? The Greeks unanimously cast their eyes on Aristides as the most proper person to assign the different quotas ; and he acquitted himself of the charge in a manner that satisfied all the parties interested in the distribution. His inviolable fidelity in the application of the money remitted into his hands, procured him the merited applause of all Greece. Themistocles, piqued at this praise, of which, in fact, he was jealous, one day said, " What is his " praise ? It is that of a strong box." " It is " at least meritorious," said Aristides on another occasion, " to have clean hands, and not be a slave " to money."

Thus these two men, so estimable in other respects, could not refrain from indulging in little sarcasms on each other. Themistocles then ruled at Athens, and established the democracy. Notwithstanding the disapprobation of Aristides, he obtained that the archons, the first magistrates of the republic, who had before been only chosen from the first class of citizens, should for the future be elected from them, and from the body of

the people. Aristides bore patiently this triumph of his rival ; and it was the last.

The Lacedæmonians did not pardon Themistocles for having imposed on them in the affair of the fortifications at Athens ; and as he had on other occasions justly and successfully opposed their ambitious enterprizes, they were convinced that they had in him an enemy whom they could only remove by destroying. They intrigued at Athens with so much success, excited so many complaints against him, and gained over so many of the citizens to their party, that the same people of whom he had been the idol, not only abandoned, but banished him by the ostracism. He retired to the court of Admetus king of the Molossi. The Lacedæmonians pursued him thither, and that king not being powerful enough to defend himself against them, furnished him with money to make his escape into Asia. He took refuge among the Persians, to whom he had been the occasion of so much mischief. They received him, however, with the greatest kindness. The emperor gave him a Persian lady for a wife, assigned him lands, and granted him great privileges to himself and his descendants, who enjoyed them for five hundred years. Aristides, far from triumphing in the misfortune of his rival, refused to join his enemies. He opposed the sentence of death, which they wished to pass against him, and never spoke of him but with the utmost respect.

Cimon and
Pericles.

He had brought forward to oppose him a young man named Cimon, the son of Miltiades, the conqueror at Marathon. Worthy of such a father, he equalled him in firmness and courage, but was more fortunate. He has been compared to Themistocles for soundness of judgement, and to Aristides for integrity. Cimon made his first essay in arms at Salamis, and it was not long before he received the command in chief. Under him the Athenians constantly obtained victories. He gained two against the Persians on the same day, one by sea, and the other by land, whither he pursued the soldiers from the fleet, who had joined those of the camp. He entirely defeated them, and took, both in the ships and on shore, an immense booty. With four ships he attacked a fleet, defeated it, made himself master of the Chersonesus, and seized on the gold mines of Thrace, which were the principal object of his expedition. He brought home prodigious sums to the public treasury, though he did not forget himself. His riches afforded him the means of gratifying his natural inclination to generosity. He gave liberally, and even anticipated solicitation. No poor citizen ever departed from him unsatisfied; his familiarity was without meanness, and his reserve without pride.

At the same time appeared on the public scene a man whose character, in several particulars, was a contrast to that of Cimon;—Pericles, a descendant of those who had driven out the Pisistratidæ.

This advantage greatly prepossessed the people in his favour, while the frankness of Cimon, who did not conceal his inclination to the aristocracy, was injurious to him with the multitude, and rendered even his generosity suspected. Cimon loved to appear in public; his countenance always displayed an air of serenity, and he had in his manner a most engaging affability. Pericles, on the other hand, rarely shewed himself, except when obliged by the duties of his employment. He constantly maintained the severe gravity of a magistrate, or a judge. He even concealed his talent for eloquence, which he possessed in a very eminent degree, from fear of exciting jealousy. Had it been possible, he would have changed the features of his countenance, which somewhat resembled those of Pisistratus, because he perceived that the likeness was remarked, and that the zealous partisans of democracy drew from it disadvantageous conclusions:—so suspicious are republicans.

A contest soon took place between these rivals, the heads of two factions, who had only the public interest in view. If you leave the great, said the zealous democrats, in possession of the military and civil dignities, the judiciary offices, and lucrative employments, the people will be treated as slaves, and overwhelmed with taxes to support the luxury and pride of the rich. The latter, defending the privileges they enjoyed, replied: The people, employed in daily labours, cannot acquire the

qualities necessary to govern, or to judge, and their necessities would prevent them from managing with integrity the public money. It is, therefore, to their interest that they should be deprived of power, which would become dangerous to themselves. According to these principles they framed the forms of elections, the manner of taking the suffrages, prohibitions, exclusions, and, in a word, whatever might give the people more or less preponderance in the elections. This was the great art of government. The heads of the different factions, to promote their several designs, dispersed their numerous emissaries through the forum to gain the approbation and votes of the people.

Pericles was extremely expert in this kind of political intrigue. He always appeared to be alone, but he had, at the same time, a multitude of active and well-instructed partisans, who gave the people the impulse necessary for the success of his plans. When he ascended the tribune, it was with an air of timidity, circumspection, or, to speak more plainly, of hypocrisy. "May the gods grant," he would say, "that I may say nothing prejudicial to the interests of the people." He spoke, and disappeared. But, notwithstanding these artifices, the aristocratic party gained the superiority; because Cimon, being the richest of the two, could give most largely. Pericles endeavoured to remedy this inequality by

giving away the public money; and thus bribed the people at their own expence:—a practice which able politicians have since frequently adopted.

Victory long hesitated between the two parties, but was at length decided by a public accusation of Cimon, who was charged with having received presents from the Macedonians not to enter their territories when he seized on the Persian gold mines in Thrace. “I did not invade them,” replied Cimon indignantly, “because I am not the enemy of the human race. I respected a nation distinguished for its justice, and whose benefits, well deserving gratitude, were of the greatest service to my army and myself while we were on its frontiers. If my fellow-citizens shall consider what my enemies charge me with as a crime, I shall submit to their judgement, without, however, being able to conceive in what I have erred.” It was so well known that this accusation was set on foot and conducted by Pericles, that it was to him applications were made to suspend its effects. He was among the number of the accusers appointed by the people, and, perhaps the most formidable. Elpinice, the sister of Cimon, went to solicit him in favour of her brother. He received her with a smile, less disobliging than the answer he gave her: “You are a little too old, madam, to be employed in such affairs as these.” It has been conjectured, that this answer, so little allied to gallantry, was

only intended to conceal the impression which the fair petitioner had made on him; an impression, the effects of which seem to have been sufficiently visible in the sequel.

In the course of the trial, Pericles only spoke once, and then with the greatest respect of Cimon. He passed so lightly over the subject in question, that he seemed not to believe him culpable. He no doubt expected to be followed by orators less complaisant, and he was not deceived. Cimon was banished by the ostracism. The laws of this banishment were so strict, that in a war against the Lacedæmonians, Cimon could not obtain permission to join the army. He presented himself to his tribe, and requested to be received into the ranks as a common soldier, but was refused. His friends desired him to leave his arms with them as a pledge of victory. But the pledge failed of its effect, the Athenians were beaten, and regretted that they had not the assistance of Cimon. Pericles, therefore, suffered him to be recalled. It is believed that a convention by the mediation of Elpinice was agreed on between them, by which it was stipulated, that Cimon should not intermeddle with the affairs of the state, but that Pericles should leave to him the command of the armies.

These excellent armies, always victorious under Cimon, were, in fact, his work. We have seen that the states of Greece in the time of Aristides entered into an engagement to furnish money and

troops for the forming of an army, which should be always ready to take the field. This zeal, however, gradually cooled. The troops of several districts were not recruited. The Athenians were inclined to force them to send their usual contingents of men; but Cimon was of opinion it would be better to receive money of them. "By that means," said he, "they will become disaccustomed to war, and with this money we may raise foldiers, who will be entirely dependent on ourselves." It is said, that being certain of having a well-paid army, and one that would not depend on the inconstancy of the Athenian populace, he had formed a project which would appear that of a madman, had it not been realized by Alexander. This was, to carry the war into Persia, and not to lay down his arms till he had conquered the empire. As he knew the Athenians were very greedy of plunder, he began by attacking the isle of Cyprus, where he found great riches, in order that this lure might induce them to approve his plan; but he died in the bosom of victory. The Athenians had, in fact, begun to grow weary of him. The noble and generous soul of Cimon could not descend to the mean and interested views of his countrymen. He openly censured their disposition to sacrifice virtue to gain, and honour to ambition. With respect to this disposition, Cimon made a comparison between Sparta and Athens very humiliating to the

latter. When the Athenians suffered themselves to adopt any mean and mercenary measure, he would frequently say: "The Lacedæmonians would not have acted thus."

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The banishment of Cimon had established the power of Pericles, and the death of that great man confirmed it. But it was not without much exertion, and many disturbances of every kind, that he preserved it. Attica was invaded, and Athens closely pressed by the Lacedæmonians. He delivered it by gaining over, by a present of a large sum of money, the counsellor of the young king of Lacedæmon. He then enjoyed an authority universally respected; so that when he gave in his accounts the people were satisfied with the following article, with respect to this transaction: "Ten talents properly expended on a certain occasion." He was, however, obliged to consent to an ill-concerted expedition, to which a general more courageous than prudent had extorted the consent of the Athenians. Pericles wished to make him lay aside the enterprize by deferring it: "Time," said he, "is the wisest of counsellors:" but he was not to be prevailed upon. The Athenians expected pillage, and thought it was sufficient to invade the Bœotians. The aggressors, however, were beaten, and their greediness of plunder, now become manifest, drew on them a great number of enemies. About this time was taken a census of the citizens of Athens, whose number it ap-

peared did not exceed fourteen thousand and forty persons. It must certainly appear very extraordinary, that this city, containing so few inhabitants, and surrounded by so many enemies, should be able to send out colonies, humble its neighbours, and even subdue foreign states.

Pericles was not always able to moderate this military ardour, and therefore yielded to it and guided it, and usually with success. We do not know that he suffered defeats, but it is certain he gained many victories. The people of Athens were principally gratified by his zeal to propagate democracy, which he established wherever he could by his conquests. But this zeal was only in behalf of the democracy that was favourable to his views; that is to say, he supported the power of the people, that it might be directed and possessed by himself, and by himself alone. Thucydides was a man of distinguished merit; Pericles, therefore, found means to subject him to the ostracism. It is observed, that he then entirely changed his manners, affecting the airs of the prince, and haughtily assuming as his right the administration of all affairs.

While he enjoyed his authority, with a pride that seemed to defy envy, he suddenly saw a cloud of enemies arise, who, though they dared not assail him personally, attacked his most intimate and dearest friends. Pericles had employed Phidias, the celebrated sculptor, to make the statue of Minerva.

By a flattery which Pericles permitted, the sculptor had represented him on the shield of the goddess fighting with an Amazon. This adulation was not attacked, but the artist was accused of having appropriated to himself a part of the gold and silver he had received from the public treasury for the statue. But Phidias, probably foreseeing the calumny, had employed the gold and silver in such a manner, that it might be taken off and weighed. Recourse being had to this proof, Phidias was declared innocent. He was, however, thrown into prison, where he died by poison ; and the enemies of Pericles had the malignity to cast on him the suspicion of this crime.

Hermippus, an informer by profession, accused of impiety Aspasia, the famous mistress of Pericles ; charging her likewise with being his procuress, and seducing for him the wives and daughters of Athenian citizens. Diopithes, another informer, preferred a law, declaring it to be a crime not to give information to the areopagus of those who taught things contrary to the religion of the country, or who entered into disputes on that subject under pretence of giving lessons in natural philosophy and astronomy. This stroke was aimed at Anaxagoras, the preceptor of Pericles, and also against Pericles himself. Anaxagoras was, in consequence, judicially accused. To embarrass Pericles on all sides, Dracontides, the third of this party, moved that he should be ordered immedi-

ately to give in his accounts. Pericles extricated himself from all these snares. Aspasia pleaded her cause herself in so forcible a manner, that she was acquitted. Some authors have said, that she owed her acquittal more to her charms than her eloquence; that Pericles brought her before the tribunal covered only with a cloak, which he suddenly threw off, and that the judges, struck with her beauty, unanimously declared her innocent. But this anecdote is little suitable either to the gravity of Pericles, or the solemnity of the areopagus. With respect to Anaxagoras, his disciple did not think it in his power to save a man whose crime consisted solely in his superior merit. He prudently advised him to quit Attica, and accompanied him to a certain distance, to show how highly he esteemed him. With regard to the insinuation of Dracontides, Pericles did not hesitate to give in his accounts; but confounded his enemies, by proving that he had never wasted the public treasure in useless expenses; and that he possessed no more property than he had inherited from his father. This incorruptibility, which was generally acknowledged, was, say historians, the real foundation of his greatness.

Attacks on reputation, when they do not succeed, only serve to establish it. This was verified in Pericles. The confidence of the people in him became unbounded; though not without the murmurs, censure, and envious observations, of his

Pelopon-
nesian War,
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enemies ; for from these what government is exempt ? But, in despite of all these petty obstacles, Pericles, certain of the support of the people, proceeded firmly towards his object. Whatever he proposed he carried, and triumphed over all opposition. He had great need of this preponderating influence in the war which the Athenians then had to maintain. It was called the Peloponnesian war, because this small country was the principal theatre of it. To explain the preparatory causes of it, would lead us into a long detail of family quarrels, jealousies of neighbouring cities, animosities excited by commercial interests, refusals of rights of citizenship, violations of hospitality, plunderings, treasons, robberies, atrocities. In fine, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, rival states, by encouraging reciprocal pretensions, had long fomented these partial enmities, till they at length exploded, so to speak, in the general hatred of two great parties, who ranged themselves under the Spartan and Athenian standards, and produced the Peloponnesian war, which lasted about thirty years. We conceive it most expedient to give the events of this space of time in a kind of summary, as it will thus be more easy to preserve the connexion of the facts, and distinctly exhibit the causes which brought on the decline of Athens.

1st year. The Lacedæmonians ravage the territory of Athens, and advance even to its walls.

Pericles, supposing that Archidamus their general, who had been his intimate friend, might spare his lands, declares that in such a case he will make a present of them to his country. The Athenians are desirous to fall out upon the enemy, though the latter have a much greater force than they can bring into the field. Pericles opposes the attempt. "Trees," says he, "when cut and lopped, put forth new branches; but men once lost, can never be recovered:"—a just censure on generals who are lavish of the lives of their soldiers. He, however, sends out fleets, who retaliate on the enemy for the ravages committed in Attica. In the mean time he amuses the citizens shut up in Athens with distributions of money from the public treasury, a law for the division of the lands, and funereal honours rendered to the dead.

2d year. The misfortunes of the Athenians continue. A dreadful plague lays waste Attica, while the enemy ravage the country. Pericles still detains the Athenians, as it were in despite of themselves, within their walls. The plague gains their ships. The Athenians lose their courage, solicit peace, and are refused. In revenge they deprive Pericles of all his dignities, and condemn him to a fine. Xanthippus, his son, a prodigal libertine, irritated that his father did not furnish him with money to support him in his debauchery, leaves his house, and accuses his father of criminal

intercourse with his wife. This unnatural son dies of the plague; by which distemper Pericles likewise loses his sister, almost all his relations and friends, and lastly, his second son Paralus. All his courage then forsakes him; and while about to place a chaplet of flowers, according to custom, on the head of the corpse, the mournful scene overpowers him, and his grief bursts forth in sobs and loud lamentations. From that time he led a very retired life, and gave himself up to melancholy.

The Athenians, on the remonstrances of Alcibiades, repent of their injustice towards Pericles, and restore him to the helm of affairs. The people salute him with joyful acclamations. An ambassador from the Lacedæmonians to the king of Persia falls into the hands of the Athenians, who put him to death, by way of retaliation for a similar murder committed by the Spartans. The Athenians besiege Potidæa, whose inhabitants are reduced to such a famine, that many of them eat human flesh. They surrender at last, and the besiegers drive them out of the city, allowing the men only to carry away one garment, and the women two.

3d year. Good and ill success are divided between the contending powers. Pericles dies of the plague, which had gradually wasted him away. When he was at the last extremity, some of his friends sitting near his bed, and supposing him

senseless and incapable of hearing them, discoursed together on his extraordinary merit, reciting his great actions, and enumerating his victories; when, on a sudden, raising himself in his bed, he turned to them, and said: "I am surprised that you
" should so much extol achievements in which
" fortune had so great a share, and common to
" me with so many other generals, while you
" forget what is peculiar to me, and much more
" to my honour than all the rest; which is,
" that no citizen ever, through me, put on
" mourning." He seems not to have reflected on the lingering death of those, who, opposing his projects, or merely refusing to submit to his yoke, banished, compelled to fly, or ruined, had perished in poverty, melancholy, and despair; and for whom no person dared to wear mourning. Besides, in order to govern the people, he made no scruple to corrupt them; a reproach which must justly stigmatize his memory, whatever great qualities he may be acknowledged to have possessed.

4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, years. The Lacedæmonians labour to establish, the former the aristocracy, and the latter the democracy, in the cities of which they had made themselves masters. They form in them parties; foment divisions, and excite the citizens to engage in contests with each other. The unhappy inhabitants of Corcyra are a fatal example of the excesses and furious cruelties of which

men are capable in civil wars. The government there was democratic. The Corinthians, the allies of the Lacedæmonians, and partisans of aristocracy, having taken a great number of prisoners, instilled into them their own principles, and sent them back to Corcyra to propagate and establish them. At first they gained the advantage over the popular party, and murdered a great number of them; but the others, obtaining the superiority in their turn by the assistance of the Athenians, took a cruel revenge. It was in vain that the unhappy men implored the pity of their countrymen, and embraced the altars; they were torn from them, and massacred without mercy. Some made their escape: the Corcyreans pursued and killed a great number of them. Only sixty remained alive, who fell into the hands of the Athenians, whom they earnestly entreated not to deliver them into the hands of their countrymen, but rather to kill them themselves. The Corcyreans, fearing the Athenians would be moved to compassion, surrounded the place where their fellow-citizens were confined, and prepared to shoot them with their arrows. Reduced thus to despair, they at last killed each other.

9th and 10th years. Propositions of peace were made, and a truce and treaty took place between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. But the execution of the conditions was subject to some diffi-

culty: the claims of the inferior allies being ill regulated they continued hostilities, and the principal powers became auxiliaries.

11th, 12th, and 13th, years. Alcibiades, who has been already mentioned, appeared on the political stage. He was the nephew of Cimon, and descended in a right line from Ajax by his father, and from the Alcmeonidæ by his mother. He was extraordinarily handsome, richer than the greater part of Athenian nobles, learned, eloquent, indefatigable, magnificent, affable, and especially able to accommodate himself to circumstances; that is to say, he knew when necessary to display his brilliant endowments; But, when he gave the rein to his passions, he was indolent, luxurious, dissolute, addicted to women, intemperate, and irreligious. In fine, he surpassed all his fellow-citizens, both in vices and in virtues. He attached himself to Socrates, the celebrated philosopher, but his dissolute manners gave an equivocal appearance to this attachment; so true is it, that virtue itself may be sullied by too near approach to vice. As to Alcibiades, he gained by this connexion knowledge which Socrates alone could communicate; and to that sage it is to be attributed, that the Athenians conceived such great hopes of him, and pardoned him a number of youthful follies.

There were at Lacedæmon families who were zealous friends to democracy, and others at Athens

devoted to aristocracy, and these maintained a correspondence. That of Alcibiades had at all times manifested an attachment to the Spartans. But, whether it was from want of esteem for his talents for negotiation, or from distrust of his influence, some Lacedæmonian ambassadors who came to Athens to treat concerning some affair of importance applied to Nicias, between whom and Alcibiades there was a kind of jealousy. Their first step, according to the advice of Nicias, was to declare in the senate that they had full powers. Alcibiades, who wished to make them repent the preference they had given to Nicias, gave them an invitation to sup with him, which they accepted, in consideration of the connexions of his family with their country. Amid the convivial freedom of the table, Alcibiades reproached them, in a friendly manner, for not having applied immediately to him, saying that he could have given them better advice than they had received with respect to the affair they had in hand ; adding, that he would by no means have advised them to say they had full powers, which would force them to consent to conditions that might not be perfectly satisfactory to those who sent them ; and that there was no remedy for their error, but to retract their declaration.

This retraction was agreed on, and the next day the ambassadors appeared in the assembly of the people to propose and discuss their business. The first question of Alcibiades was : “ Have you

“full powers?” They answered “No.” “See,” exclaimed Alcibiades, “the sincerity of these Lacedæmonians, who to-day boldly deny what they yesterday asserted in the senate!” The people, highly irritated, refused to hear the ambassadors, who would have discovered the fraud practised on them, and it was proposed immediately to conclude a treaty with the Argives, which was greatly against the interest of the Lacedæmonians. But an earthquake happening, the assembly broke up. Nicias obtained that the affair in question might be negotiated at Lacedæmon, whither deputies were in consequence sent. Notice, however, was transmitted to the democratic party in that city, and Alcibiades had the pleasure of preventing Sparta from occasioning any obstacle to the league with Argos, which might become the cause of a future war, in which he might find an opportunity to distinguish himself.

The inhabitants of Patræ in Argolis, a city nearer to Sparta than Athens, would have been very willing to have prevented the entrance of the Athenians into their country. “If we grant your request,” said they to Alcibiades, “your countrymen may one day overwhelm us.” “I know not what to say to that,” replied he, with an air of indifference, “but if they do, they will be obliged to begin at the feet; whereas, if you are not supported by our assistance against the Lacedæmonians, they will begin at the

“ head, and devour you at once :”—an admirable alternative for these unhappy people.

14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, years. The Argives declare for Sparta, abolish their democratic government, and establish an aristocratic. They grow weary of the latter, drive out the Lacedæmonians, banish their aristocrats, and recal the Athenians. Alcibiades repairs thither to support the democracy, and procures the banishment of those who were suspected of favouring the Lacedæmonians. Many of the inhabitants of the little island of Melos are punished still more cruelly for their attachment to Sparta. The Athenians put to death all those who are able to bear arms, and carry away the women and children captives.

17th, 18th, and 19th, years. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians make Sicily again the field of battle. The former wished to make the conquest of it. “ Thence,” said Alcibiades, who was one of the generals, “ we will pass over into Africa, reduce Carthage and Lybia; and Italy shall be subjugated in its turn.” While the expedition was preparing, and almost at the moment of its departure, all the statues of Mercury were found thrown down and mutilated. Search was made to discover the authors of this sacrilege, but in vain. As public notice had been given, that all persons, of whatever condition they might be, would be permitted to give information, some slaves declared that some young Athenians, at the head of whom was Alci-

biades, heated with wine, had, on a certain occasion, treated with ridicule the religious ceremonies.

Suspicion now fell on Alcibiades, who demanded a trial; but perhaps it was not considered as safe to proceed to it, in the presence of his armed partisans, who were ready to embark and make the campaign with him. It was, therefore, deferred, under pretext that the expedition could not be delayed; but when he had arrived in Sicily the charge was preferred, and orders sent to one of the generals, his colleague, to send him to Athens, together with his principal companions, under a strong guard. They gained intelligence of this order, and made their escape; Alcibiades wandered for some time in Greece, and then retired to Lacedæmon. In a few weeks this libertine steeped in luxury and debauchery became a grave and abstemious Spartan. He gained the confidence of the Lacedæmonians at once by the conformity of his manners, which he so suddenly assumed; by discovering to them the plans of Athens; and by manifesting against his country all the ardour of the most determined Lacedæmonian.

18th and 19th years. The Spartans, profiting by the advice of Alcibiades, fortify a place near the frontiers of Attica, which gives them a great command of that country. This advantage of the Spartans, and the defeats the Athenians had suffer-

ed in Sicily, induce the latter to make some changes in their government. The people before decided every thing, and the people were influenced, deceived, and led away by orators who had sold themselves to factions, or were governed by their private interests. A council of aged men is established to discuss all affairs before they are proposed to the people. It is also resolved to retrench superfluous expenses, and to treat the allies with more mildness.

20th year. Alcibiades renders a great service to the Lacedæmonians, by procuring them the alliance of the Persians. But he seduces the wife of Agis, their king, who endeavours to procure his death. He takes refuge with Tissaphernes, the general of the Persians, and immediately the severe Spartan becomes a voluptuous Asiatic, the umpire of taste and arbiter of pleasures. But his dissipation and enjoyments do not prevent him from forming and executing political plans. He had made use of the Lacedæmonians to avenge him of the Athenians, and now employs the latter to punish the former; and by the same means, that is, an alliance, which he gave his countrymen reason to hope they might make with the Persians. "But," says he, "the Persians promise their alliance, and great succours to Athens against Lacedæmon, only on condition that Athens will abolish the democracy, and substitute aristocracy."

“tocracy, or the government of a small number.
“I myself will not return to the city until this
“change shall have been effected.”

21st year. Deputies from the army set out to make this proposition; for which their partisans had already greatly prepared the way. The projected change was almost completed, partly by flattering the people, and partly by dispatching by the daggers of assassins, or a more secret method, the supporters of the democracy. Freed from these obstacles, the reigning faction proposed to take away the authority only from the dregs of the people, and confide the sovereign power to five thousand of the richest citizens, who should be considered as constituting the people. But this form not giving the chiefs all the power they wished, they employed all their engines to introduce the government, not of the great, which is an aristocracy, nor of the whole people, which is a democracy, but of chiefs chosen from among the richest of the people, which is an oligarchy.

An orator, named Antiphon, possessed of such a seductive eloquence that the people had prohibited him from speaking in public, advanced nevertheless to the tribune, and proposed to choose ten men who should be appointed to frame laws conformable to circumstances. They were elected, and convoked the people; but when a body of laws was expected from them, proposed only that every Athenian should be permitted freely to speak

his opinion. "Nothing can be more just," exclaimed the assembly. Antiphon, who was ready, but unwilling to expose himself till he was thus expressly authorized, proposed a plan which entirely abolished the old government, and explained his system by the means of Pisander, the deputy from the army.

Five prytanes, or chiefs, were to be chosen, who were to appoint a hundred persons, of whom they were to be a part. Each of these hundred was to choose three others, making four hundred, who were to possess an absolute power, and who might refer any affair which they should judge proper to the five thousand. This form was received with acclamation by the people, whom it deprived of their authority. The elections were made in the presence of the assembly. When they were ended, the four hundred, armed with poniards, and accompanied by a guard, entered the senate and drove out the senators; after having first, however, paid them what was due of their appointments.

This plan, which, in consequence of its alterations, was entirely different from that proposed to the army, was not approved of by the troops. Alcibiades on joining them had been received by his old comrades with the most lively congratulations, and supported this enthusiasm by the victories they gained by his advice. A government that excluded the nobles almost as much as

the democracy, could not be to his taste. The army declared that they would never acknowledge the four hundred, that they chose the democracy; and this form of government they exerted themselves to re-establish, or strengthen, wherever it had been destroyed or weakened. The four hundred, on their side, took all the measures in their power to maintain themselves. They sent commissioners to the army to induce the chiefs of it to enter into their views. They endeavoured to gain the support of the Lacedæmonians by proposing, or rather soliciting, a peace. Their design was to establish their authority throughout Attica and its dependencies, and if they could not succeed in that, at least to preserve it in the city; and rather than yield to the democracy, and fall into the hands of those they had irritated, they were determined to endeavour to obtain from the Lacedæmonians the most favourable conditions they could, and deliver the city up to them. They even began to add some new works to the port of the Piræus, to beat off the fleet, if the army should return to dispossess them of their power.

The people could not see all these preparations without disquietude. The soldiers, who perceived that they were made against their comrades, opposed them; and a commotion more noisy than dangerous ensued. The four hundred, however, were terrified, and promised to do whatever the people wished. The latter were contented with obliging them to re-convene the five thousand, which

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assembly had probably been suspended; after which they ordered that another four hundred should be chosen from the five thousand. A new law abolished the authority of the four hundred, and restored the sovereign authority to the five thousand, who, soon after, recalled Alcibiades.

He it was who, from the scene of his victories and conquests, put in motion all the springs the operation of which was to procure himself the sovereign power. He was certain of the army; his affability, his courage, and especially his success, had gained him the hearts of all the troops, who under him had obtained both riches and honour—two powerful means to secure the attachment of soldiers. In one day, which had only happened before to Cimon his uncle, he gained two victories, one by sea and the other by land; and set sail for Athens, with his triumphant fleet, laden with more spoils than had been brought home to that city since the war with the Persians.

The people left the city empty, and crowded to the harbour to see Alcibiades. It was ordered that the decree of his banishment should be thrown into the sea, and that the priests of the infernal divinities should absolve him from the maledictions pronounced against him. The people appointed him general, by land and sea, with unlimited power; and endeavoured to make him forget the injuries they had done him, by the honours they heaped upon him. But being well convinced, that, with so fickle a people, his reputation could

only be maintained by repeated success, he returned again to sea, and defeated the Lacedæmonians. Unfortunately, while he was absent from the fleet for some days, the officer who took the command in his stead was beaten in his turn. This misfortune was attributed to the indolence and dissipation of Alcibiades, who had remained on shore to indulge in his pleasures. To these imputations were added suspicions that he held an intelligence with the Lacedæmonians; and the defender of Athens, the retriever of its honour, was deprived of his command. He retired to Thrace, where he erected a kind of small principality, and built a castle in which he might brave the malevolence of his enemies.

His place was supplied by ten admirals. They gained a great victory, which was obstinately disputed, and cost the Athenians dear. Theramenes, one of these officers, accused his colleagues of not having taken sufficient care to save the dying, or carry off the dead that the last rites might be rendered to them. The people shuddered with horror on only hearing the accusation. The accused answered that they had been prevented by a storm. Theramenes then made a pathetic oration, in pronouncing which he purposely made pauses that the lamentations and groans of the friends and relations of those who had perished in the battle might be heard by the assembly. At the end of his harangue he produced a man who pretended

to have heard the unhappy wretches, when drowning, say that they asked no other favour of the Athenians, than that they would punish their commanders. The people, immediately, without hearing their defense, condemned them to death.

Two only of these officers refused to expose themselves to the risk of a trial, and absconded. The others were hurried to execution. Diomedon, one of them, spoke thus: "I wish, Athenians, that the sentence you have pronounced against us, may not recoil on the public. The only favour we have to ask of you is, to pay to the gods the vows we made to them, and to which you owe the victory we gained over your enemies." They were then executed, and suffered death with admirable calmness and courage. The government of Athens was then a pure democracy.

The thirty
Tyrants.

Alcibiades was informed of these excesses in his asylum. The fleet approaching the neighbourhood in which he resided, he perceived what a bad choice the people had made in their commanders. He offered to give them advice; but this offer, from an exile, a vagabond, highly offended them, and they threatened, if he repeated it, to seize him and send him to Athens. They were so certain of victory, that their only difficulty was to determine how they should treat their prisoners; and whether they should cut their right hands off, that they might never more be able

to use a spear, but only to tug at the oar. But while they were entertaining themselves with these projects, the Lacedæmonian commander attacked and entirely defeated them. By the unanimous decision of all the confederates, three thousand prisoners, with their officers, were put to death.

The Lacedæmonians continued to be successful in all their enterprizes. They took several of the towns of Attica, and besieged Athens, sending back all their prisoners into the city, not from generosity or compassion, but to multiply the number of mouths, as they proposed to take it by famine. Their project succeeded, Athens was obliged to surrender, and the Spartans, who had deliberated whether it should be entirely destroyed, contented themselves with determining that the long walls and fortifications should be razed; that the Athenians should give up all their ships, except twelve; that they should suffer all exiles to return; and from that time be dependent on the fortune of the Lacedæmonians. Lyfander, the Lacedæmonian general, caused the fortifications to be demolished to the sound of fifes and drums, on the same day on which the Athenians had gained the famous battle of Salamis. Before he left the city he appointed thirty persons to govern it, who were called the thirty tyrants, from the abuse they made of their power.

Instead of making laws, they began by establishing a senate and magistrates, that is to say, ex-

ecutors of their will. They first employed them in punishing informers, who, by false accusations, had procured the death of many innocent persons; but when they had gained the commander of the Lacedæmonian garrison, they suffered bad men to live undisturbed, and turned their fury against the good and the worthy, who were wealthy. At the head of these thirty were two men of characters very different from each other: Critias, ambitious and cruel in the extreme; and Theramenes, of a milder disposition, and averse to sanguinary measures.

In the council of the thirty it was represented that it would be ridiculous to pretend to govern a multitude by the aid of a single garrison consisting of only a handful of men. This observation, which was made to authorize the thirty to appoint them guards, was followed by a resolution that three thousand persons should be chosen, who should represent the people, and to whom was to be granted the singular privilege that none of them should be condemned to death but in consequence of a decree of the senate. This was as if the thirty had said: Except these three thousand, we will put to death any citizens we choose. In fact, arbitrary executions immediately commenced. Theramenes opposed these cruelties; and Critias accused him before the senate, as a betrayer of the public cause. While he was making his defense, Critias withdrew, and presently returned with a

guard, exclaiming: "I have erased the name of
"Theramenes from the list of the three thousand,
"the senate, therefore, has no longer cognizance
"of his cause." This threw him, without resource, into the power of the thirty. Theramenes, perceiving that the soldiers were about to seize him, fled to the altar, which was in the middle of the senate-house, and embracing it, said: "I do
"not seek a refuge here from the hope or the
"wish to escape death; but that my impious
"murderers, by tearing me from the altar, may
"draw down on them more speedily the vengeance of the gods, and thus restore liberty to
"my country." The guards dragged him from the altar, and led him to the place of execution, where he drank the hemlock with an intrepid air, and said, when dying: "I am surprised that men
"of sense do not perceive that it is not more difficult to erase their names from the list of the
"three thousand, than that of Theramenes." He had been one of the most ardent promoters of the government of which he became the victim.

His death removed the last curb to the ferocity of the thirty. The Lacedæmonians, when informed of these cruelties, seemed to view with no little satisfaction the Athenians, their ancient rivals, destroying each other. They passed a decree that those who had fled from the authority of the thirty should be sent back to Athens. Several of

the cities of their allies, abhorring this barbarity, afforded an asylum to these unfortunate fugitives.

Thraſybulus collected a ſmall number of them at Thebes, who were reſolved to encounter every danger rather than live thus exiled from their country. Like a ſkilful general, he firſt ſecured a poſt in Attica, where the exiles joined him in great numbers. He afterwards made himſelf maſter of the Piræus, which he fortified ſo as to be capable of reſiſting the Lacedæmonian garrifon which the thirty had ſent againſt him. In an aſſault the Lacedæmonians loſt a number of men, among whom Critias, the preſident of the thirty, was killed; and when a herald was ſent to demand the dead, Thraſybulus harangued the people who accompanied him, and exhibited the tyranny under which they groaned in ſuch odious colours, that they drove out the thirty, and conſided the government to ten magiſtrates. The thirty left the city, but ſolicited the aid of the Spartans, who ſent an army to ſupport them. The diſpute, however, was adjusted, by a negociation between Thraſybulus and the Lacedæmonians. He ſtipulated that all the citizens ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their houſes and privileges, except the thirty, the ten who had ſucceeded to their tyranny, and eleven others who in the time of the oligarchy of the three thouſand had been appointed to the command of the Pyræus; that no perſon ſhould

be disturbed for what was passed; and that if any person was unwilling to abide by this engagement, he should be at liberty to retire to Eleufis, where the thirty and their adherents then were. Thrafybulus entered Athens at the head of his brave companions, and, accompanied by all the rest of his fellow-citizens, offered a facrifice in the temple of Minerva.

The party which had retired to Eleufis fent emissaries into Athens to renew their connexions there, and fow the feeds of jealousy and difcord; but they were difcovered and punifhed. Thrafybulus propofed a general amnefty. It was accepted; and thus all differences were terminated, and the pure democracy re-eftablifhed. The tyrants, during their fhort reign, had put to death fourteen hundred citizens, and condemned five thoufand to banifhment. They are likewise fufpected of having had a confiderable fhare in procuring the death of Alcibiades.

They knew that the exiles founded great hopes on his abilities, if he would give them his affiftance. But it appears that Alcibiades, wearied with the agitations of his life, though he was but forty years old, thought only of enjoying undifturbed tranquillity, in the company of a woman named Timandra, who was extremely attached to him. The jealousy of a fufpicious faction purfued him into his retreat. Critias, the chief of the thirty, who had been his friend, infinuated to the Lacedæ-

monians, that even the repose of this lion was to be feared; and they sent soldiers to kill him. Not daring to attack him in person, they set fire to his house. Alcibiades rushed upon them sword in hand, with his left arm wrapped in his cloak. They fled from him, and killed him with their arrows at a distance. Thus fell, in the prime of his age, this man, whose actions were sufficient to have rendered illustrious several lives, sacrificed to the fears of his enemies, less on account of the injury he had done them, than from the apprehension of that he might do them.

Socrates.

His death preceded but a short time that of Socrates, his master and his friend. Brave in war, of a mild and easy conversation, and equally esteemed for wisdom and integrity, he could not but displease the tyrants, who first endeavoured to render his manners and doctrine suspected, by an injunction never imposed on any other person, which was that he should not converse with any person under the age of thirty. They then attempted to disgrace him by forcing him to appear to concur in their tyranny, or be guilty of disobedience, ordering him, in full senate, to seize a man of rank and fortune, named Leon, whose riches had excited their cupidity. "I shall not obey," said he; "I am resolved never to assist voluntarily in doing an unjust action." "Do you imagine, Socrates," said one of the thirty, "that you will always be allowed to talk thus haughtily, and

“not to suffer?” “Far from it,” replied he, “I expect to suffer a thousand evils, but none so great as the committing an act of injustice.” There was no kind of persecution which was not practised against him. The theatre, that powerful engine, so frequently had recourse to by factions, was employed to decry and villify him. Aristophanes introduced him on the stage, teaching sophisms by which a bad cause might be rendered a good one, preaching new gods, and ridiculing whatever was held sacred. Socrates was present at the representation of this piece. One of his friends asked him if it did not occasion him some uneasiness. “None, in the least,” replied he, “I seem to be at a feast where I entertain the whole city.” He was at last accused, in form, of not acknowledging the gods of the republic. Socrates pleaded his own cause in a most forcible manner; and could men determined to condemn have listened to reason, he would have been acquitted. Plato, who was then a young man, eager to defend his master, mounted the tribune, and began thus: “Though I, Athenians, am the youngest of those who come up into this place——” The people immediately exclaimed:—“Of those who go down;”—which they directly compelled him to do, without suffering him to speak another word. Socrates might have ransomed his life by a fine, and his friends offered to pay it. “No,” said he, “that would be to confess myself guilty; and the

“conduct which has drawn on me this sentence
“merits rather rewards than a fine.” He drank
the poison without shewing the least signs of re-
pugnance, and continued to discourse with his
friends, with the utmost tranquillity and serenity,
to the moment of his death.

When we consider the ingratitude of the Athe-
nians towards their great men, we find ourselves
compelled to confess that no people ever less de-
served to possess patriots: yet never was there a
city more ardently loved by its citizens, than
Athens. To victorious but ill-treated generals,
succeeded others, who, with the same talents, re-
ceived the same reward. Their actions were ex-
posed to the censure of a malicious and idle popu-
lace, who easily condemned, but seldom pardoned.
Perhaps, indeed, some generals may have owed
their shining qualities to this watchful jealousy of
their fellow-citizens. Conon may have been in-
debted to it for his perseverance and obstinacy in
his enterprizes; Chabrias, for his subtlety and
ability to profit by circumstances; and Iphicrates,
for the spirit of precaution and vigilance which he
so eminently displayed. The soldiers of the latter,
wearied with his excess of caution, complained of
his continually surrounding them with entrench-
ments. “My friends,” said he, “I do this that
“I may not be obliged to use that expression
“which of all others least becomes a general—
“*I did not think of it.*”

Greece was continually a prey to intestine dissensions, notwithstanding the peace of Antalcidas, Peace of Antalcidas, 2610. so called from the negociator who concluded it. By a general treaty entered into with the king of Persia, he endeavoured to adjust the interests of all the cities of Greece. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians acquiesced in it, but not for any long time; for the two republics again soon took part in the quarrels of those whom they had imagined they could reconcile. It had been stipulated that some towns should receive liberty, and they would not accept it; others had been attached to more considerable cities, as a kind of capitals, and they would not admit of the connexion. In consequence of these disputes, they had recourse to arms. The same cities alternately governed by the democracy and the aristocracy, expelled their citizens, who were received by the neighbouring states, and became the causes of violent animosity and war. Sometimes the Athenians and Lacedæmonians sincerely united, and acted in concert to re-establish and perpetuate peace; but the avarice of the Athenians, and the pride of the Spartans, frequently rekindled in these republics their ancient hostile dispositions, the former eager for pillage, and the latter for dominion.

This passion for plunder rendered the Athenians Social War. very sensible to the misfortunes of their generals. To this passion alone can be attributed the part

they took in the social war; a war waged between several individual cities with which Athens had no connexions. But they conceived it would prove a source of gain, and sent troops to engage in it. Their general, Timotheus, the son of Conon, who rebuilt the walls of Athens, and was celebrated for many great achievements, did not effect on this occasion all that was expected from him. He proved that he had been prevented from fighting by a storm; but this defense was but of little avail: he was condemned to so heavy a fine that he was utterly unable to pay it, and died of grief. The half of the fine was remitted to Conon, his son; but he was obliged to pay the remainder, which was applied to the repairing of the same walls that his grand-father had rebuilt.

Sacred War.

The sacred war furnished another proof of the love of gain with which the Athenians are reproached. It was occasioned by the Phocians ploughing up a small piece of ground appertaining to the temple of Delphi. They were condemned to a fine by the Amphictyons, or general assembly of Greece. They refused to pay; and the Bœotians, who possessed the temple of Delphi, made war on them. The Phocians gained the advantage, and seized all the treasures of the temple. With this plunder they invited troops from the other states to enter into their pay. The Athenians finding their offers very considerable, hastened to join them. They were

much censured for this sacrilegious cupidity; but the love of money, at that time, was not a vice peculiar to them, it was that of almost all Greece.

Philip, king of Macedon, who then began to attract attention, owed the influence he acquired to the gold mines of Thrace, which he had seized, and which he knew how to work to advantage. He had partisans in his pay in all the principal cities of Greece, and especially at Athens. The demagogues, or those who governed the people by their harangues, were the instruments employed by this artful prince. The Persians had recourse to the same means. It is believed that their gold had its influence on Demosthenes, who, by his eloquence, had at this time acquired a great ascendancy over his fellow-citizens.

Eloquence had become a certain source of wealth and power. This art was studied from early youth, as he who became a proficient in it was certain, if he but possessed some knowledge of the affairs of state, and a sufficient degree of effrontery, to govern the assemblies of the nation, and to procure for his partisans honourable and lucrative employments, without forgetting himself: but for this he must attach himself to a party, especially when he had no other merit than oratory. Demosthenes attached himself to the party of the Persians, which opposed that of Philip, and frequently employed against that prince the copious and energetic eloquence which we still

Philip of
Macedon.

Demof-
thenes and
Phocion.

admire. Phocion, a foldier, general, and politician, valued himfelf lefs on being an orator. He fpoke juftly, judiciously, and concifely, fhewed no preference to any party, and was only actuated by a wifh to promote the real benefit of his fellow-citizens by integrity and by reafon. He was therefore highly efteemed, even by thofe who defended a contrary opinion. He rarely agreed with Demofthenes, becaufe the latter, lively and ardent, always propofed to the multitude bold and extraordinary projects; whereas Phocion, whole characteristic was mildnefs and caution, only propofed fuch as were moderate and eafy to be carried into effect. He rarely accommodated himfelf to the tafte of the people; but frequently cenfured them boldly. Demofthenes, who fometimes himfelf did not fpare them, aftonifhed at his freedom of this kind, which he confidered as extravagant and imprudent, faid to him one day—"Phocion, " the Athenians will murder you in one of their " fits of frenzy." "Yes," faid he, "and you " will undergo the fame fate, if ever they return " to their fenfes."

In fact, if Demofthenes deferved the praife of the people of Athens for the fagacity with which he detected and difplayed the ambitious projects of Philip, and the good counfel which he gave them in confequence, they had likewise to complain, that by the ardour of his eloquence he frequently engaged them in hazardous enterprizes

and ruinous wars. The orator acquired no honour in military expeditions: we are even told that he fled in a cowardly manner in a battle which decided the issue of a war that he had advised. Phocion, who was truly brave, did not hesitate to advise peace in the most successful periods of the war. "How dare you," said one day to him a frivolous orator—"how dare you, Phocion, attempt to dissuade the Athenians from war, now that the sword is drawn?" "I dare dissuade them from it," replied he, "though I know that in time of war I cannot fail to be your master; whereas in time of peace you may be mine." His conduct in war corresponded to his pacific dispositions. The allies feared the other Athenian generals, but had entire confidence in Phocion. When the former came to their assistance they refused to receive them, well knowing their rapacity; but Phocion they went out to meet, and lodged him and his soldiers in their cities.

The harangues of Demosthenes did not prevent Philip from successfully proceeding in his project to subvert Greece. He gained against the Boeotians the famous battle of Chaeronea, which placed Athens at his discretion. A detachment of Athenians behaved valiantly, and were taken prisoners. Philip restored them to liberty; but they demanded their baggage: "I really believe," said Philip, "the Athenians think we have only beaten them

“in jest.” He, however, granted them their request. He made with them likewise a kind of peace, but it was not sincere on either side. And no sooner was the king of Macedon dead, than the Athenians gave themselves up to a ridiculous joy, wearing chaplets of flowers, as if they had gained a great victory: “Alas!” said Phocion to them, “the army which defeated you at Chæroneia is diminished only by one man.” And this one man, unfortunately for the Athenians, was succeeded by Alexander, who continued to press them as closely as Philip his father, and reduced them to the extremity of humbly soliciting a peace. The young conqueror declared that he would not receive them into favour, unless they would give up Demosthenes, and seven others of their orators. They dispatched ambassadors to procure a mitigation of these rigorous conditions, but Alexander treated them with contempt. They then sent Phocion, and the Macedonian monarch not only granted his request, but conceived for him an esteem and friendship which he ever afterwards retained.

While Phocion rendered himself respected by his probity, Demosthenes disgraced himself by his avarice. One of the generals of Alexander, who had been guilty of some crime, fearing the resentment of his master, retired to Athens with great riches. His wealth soon drew the attention of the orators, who, as they doubted not that Alexander

would require that he should be delivered up, went to him to know in what manner they could be of service to him, and on what conditions. Alexander, as had been expected, reclaimed him. Demosthenes harangued the people, and advised them to give up Harpalus, who was, in fact, no other than a robber; insisting that it would be the grossest imprudence to expose the republic to a war on such an account. But Harpalus having prevailed on him to accept a considerable present, the next day, when the question was to be decided, and Demosthenes was expected to support his former opinion, the orator appeared in the assembly with his neck swathed up with cloths and bandages, and when his turn came to speak, made signs that he had lost his voice. The wits said that he had been suddenly taken in the night with a *silver quinsy*.

Harpalus made every exertion to gain Phocion likewise, offering to him alone more than he had given to all the others; but he not only refused his presents with contempt, but threatened to prefer an information against him, if he did not desist from attempting to corrupt those whom he supposed to have influence with the people. When the subject came to be again discussed, those who had received money of Harpalus were the first to speak against him, the more effectually to conceal that they had received bribes; Phocion, on the contrary, appeared so much to commiserate his

unhappy situation, and spoke with so much mildness, that Harpalus was encouraged again to offer him money, but was again refused. The Athenians at length expelled Harpalus from the city, and directed the areopagus to enquire into the conduct of those who had suffered themselves to be corrupted by his bribes. Demosthenes was convicted on indubitable evidence, condemned to pay a fine, and ordered to be imprisoned till it was paid; but he made his escape, and retired to Ægina, where he continued till the death of Alexander.

This prince, though at a great distance, still held the Athenians with a tight rein; so that his death caused at Athens a joy of which Phocion feared the extravagance. He saw them ready to proceed to extremities without being, in fact, certain of the event at which they rejoiced: "Remember," said he to them, "if the intelligence is true, if Alexander is dead to-day, he will likewise be dead to-morrow, and the day after, and all the following days; so that we shall have time enough to rejoice, and likewise to deliberate in what manner we ought to act."

Freed from their fear of Alexander, they imagined there was nothing they could not achieve. They flew to arms, and had the imprudence to take the field against Antipater, one of Alexander's generals, whom that monarch had appointed to take charge of the affairs of Greece. They

were defeated, and obliged to submit to harsh conditions; which were: that they should deliver up to Antipater, Demosthenes, and Hyperides another orator; that the old method of levying taxes should be re-established; that they should receive a garrison into their port; and that they should pay the expenses of the war, and a certain sum of money which should be agreed on. The article relative to the garrison weighed heaviest on the Athenians. Phocion made every exertion in his power to obtain from Antipater an exemption from this yoke; but that general replied: "Phocion, I can refuse you nothing, but what would infallibly tend both to your ruin and mine." Demosthenes fled to avoid being delivered up to Antipater; and, being pursued by order of that general, poisoned himself.

The observation of Antipater on the necessity of a Macedonian garrison for the safety of Phocion himself became, in the event, a prophecy. Antipater died, and Cassander, his son, and Polyperchon, the regent of the kingdom of Macedonia, contended for the authority. The former sent Nicanor, an experienced officer, to command the garrison of Athens. He was a worthy man, and the friend of Phocion. Polyperchon, to attach the Greeks to his party, declared all the cities free, and particularly Athens, the garrison of which he recalled, giving orders at the same time that the democratical government should be re-established.

Phocion,
2692.

Nicanor refused to obey this order, and Phocion approved and publicly defended this refusal, without guarding against the consequences. Polyperchon appeared before Athens with a strong army, and Nicanor being unable to protect Phocion, who had remained in the city, he was dragged, with his friends, in chains, before Polyperchon: "You are traitors," said he, "but I leave to the Athenians, as a free people, the right of judging you." The assembly was convened, and was very tumultuous. "Do you intend," said Phocion, "to try us according to the forms prescribed by the laws?" Some voices exclaimed:—"Yes." "How can that be," replied he, "since it is impossible we should make ourselves heard in our defense?" The clamour continuing, he pronounced with a firm voice these words: "As to what concerns myself, I confess the crime of which I am accused, and submit to what the law decrees on the subject; but consider, O Athenians, how great injustice it will be to involve in my calamity those who have had no share in my guilt." "They are your accomplices, and that is sufficient," exclaimed the frantic multitude. Some carried their fury so far as to propose that Phocion might be put to the torture in the middle of the assembly, in order to force him to discover his accomplices. Others put on chaplets of flowers when they voted for his death. He was asked if he had any command to

leave to his son. "Yes, certainly," replied he, "tell him I solemnly enjoin him to forget in what a manner the Athenians treated his father." Some time after his death the people became sensible of the injustice they had done him, celebrated his obsequies publicly, and erected a statue to his memory. They passed a sentence of death against his accusers, the principal of whom met the punishment they deserved.

The remainder of the history of the Athenians, to the period of the Achæan league, would be in the life of an individual a period of delirium which it would be well to forget; but in the annals of a republic it is an example that merits to be preserved. Cassander, by the assistance of the Macedonian garrison, which had not yet retired, made himself master of Athens, and appointed as governor, and, in some measure, as sovereign, Demetrius Phalereus, whose riches, though great, were exceeded by his integrity and virtue. He governed Athens with the utmost mildness, augmented the revenues of the republic, embellished the city with new edifices, repaired those that had fallen to decay, and was the author of so much good that statues were every-where erected to him.

Demetrius
Phalereus.

Another Demetrius, named Poliorcetes, that is, *the taker of cities*, the handsomest man of his time, and the son of Antigonus, another of Alexander's

generals, pretending to free Athens from the yoke of Cassander, drove out Phalereus, whom all immediately abandoned, and who was in danger of being murdered. Poliorcetes was received in the city with loud acclamations. The Athenians bestowed on him and his father Antigonus the title of kings, which they had never before assumed. They styled them their tutelary deities and deliverers; and decreed that ambassadors who were sent to him or his father should be called the ambassadors of the gods. They appointed a priest to superintend their worship, and ordered that the year should no longer be distinguished by the name of the first archon but by that of this priest. At the place where Demetrius alighted from his chariot on his entrance into the city they erected an altar. They added to their tribes two new ones, which they called Antigonides and Demetriades. They likewise changed the name of the month Munichian to Demetrian; and when they knew not what new flattery to invent, endeavoured to villify Demetrius Phalereus, throwing down his statues, condemning him to death, and setting a price upon his head. The more effectually to establish the democratic government, a change was made in the mode of public instruction; no person being allowed to teach without permission from the senate and people. It was on the motion of Sophocles, a man of letters, that

these shackles were imposed on science, which forced Theophrastus, the disciple of Aristotle, to shut up his school.

A victory which Poliorcetes gained over Cassander, who threatened Athens, procured him new honours from the Athenians, who assigned him lodgings behind the temple of Minerva, in the apartments of the virgins dedicated to her service; a compliment the more scandalous as the dissolute manners of Demetrius were notorious. In fine, that he might be initiated into the greater and lesser mysteries of Ceres, without waiting the usual time, the names and order of the months were changed by a decree. Satiated with these flatteries, Poliorcetes set out for Asia, where he suffered some reverses of fortune; in consequence of which, when he proposed to return to his dear Athens, he was met on the road by ambassadors, who informed him that he could not be permitted to enter that city, because the people had decreed that they would not receive into it any kings. He requested that they would at least restore to him his wife Deidamia, whom he had left there, and she was accordingly sent to him. But the Athenians passed a decree enacting that whoever should propose to treat or enter into any connexion with Demetrius should suffer death.

This new insult exhausted his patience. He laid siege to Athens, which was obliged to surrender at discretion. The conqueror commanded

the inhabitants to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with armed men. The Athenians expected their sentence with great trepidation; when the conqueror appeared, and, after some mild reproaches, pardoned them, and even promised them a present of corn. Their flatteries then recommenced, and the orators knew not what terms to employ to extol his beneficence and generosity. Some time after, Poliorcetes lost the kingdom of Macedon. Immediately his priest was degraded, his altar overthrown, and the months restored to their former names and order.

The son of Demetrius, named Antigonus Gonatus, punished them for the insult they had offered to his father, and placed a garrison in the citadel of Athens. Aratus, the chief of the Achæan league, twice endeavoured to drive out the garrison, not with a view to retain the city, but to restore it to liberty. This the Athenians knew, yet on the report of the death of Aratus they put on chaplets of flowers. They were, however, very happy afterwards to find it false, and by his means to recover their liberty, which he procured them, on paying fifty talents, twenty of which were his own money, to the Macedonian governor, who withdrew his garrison. Thus Athens became again free, under the protection of the Achæan league, which likewise proved the safeguard of Lacedæmon.

LACEDÆMONIANS.

Lacedæmon had an established government before the time of Lycurgus, since it had not only one monarch, but, what is without example in any other nation, two kings seated on one throne, and ruling with equal authority. This government no doubt had several other defects and inconsistencies, since the inhabitants of Sparta applied to Lycurgus for a constitution.

He was of royal birth. His brother, who was ^{Lycurgus, 2020.} one of the two kings, dying, the regal authority descended to him, in defect of a direct heir. His sister-in-law caused him to be told that she was pregnant; but that if he would marry her she would prevent the birth of an heir. Lycurgus heard the proposal with horror; yet, that he might not expose the child of his brother to the ambitious fury of a wicked woman, he told her that he could not think of exposing her life to the effect of violent potions, but that, when she should be delivered, he would take care to make away with her child, and marry her. When she was near her time, he gave orders that if the child was a girl it should be delivered to the women; but that if it was a boy it should be brought to him.

At the time of her delivery, Lycurgus was at table with a large company. The child was

brought : " Here," said he, " is your king." It was well known that it only depended on him to secure the throne. His sister-in-law, however, never forgave him; and notwithstanding the proof of moderation which he had given, succeeded in her attempts to make it believed that he intended to seize the crown. She pretended to be under the greatest alarm for the life of her son, and persuaded many persons to entertain the same fears. Lycurgus, wearied with these suspicions, and the disagreeable contests they sometimes occasioned, after having brought up his nephew till he was of age to reign, set out on his travels.

He took for his companion Thales, the lyric poet, who assisted him to find in Egypt the whole of the poems of Homer, of which only some parts were then known in Greece. He travelled through Crete, then famous for its laws; Asia, where the effeminacy of manners formed a strong contrast to the severity of the Cretans; and Egypt, the abode of science and wisdom. Some make him to have gone as far as Spain, Africa, and the Indies. It is not known where he was when the Spartans sent a deputation to him, inviting him to return and regulate their government.

He had doubtless previously formed his system, which was to demolish every thing, and clear away the ruins, if the expression may be used, in order to erect an uniform and durable edifice. He consulted the oracle at Delphi, which, on this

occasion, was neither so obscure nor so perplexed as on almost all others. The priests styled him the friend of the gods. "His laws," added she, "are perfectly good; and the republic in which they shall be observed, shall become the most renowned upon earth." When he returned to Sparta, he conferred with his friends, and they agreed on the measures they should take to aid and confirm the oracle.

On the morning appointed for the promulgation of this code of laws, they appeared early in the morning, in the market-place, to the number of twenty-eight, armed with poniards. The young king, Charilaus, the nephew of Lycurgus, was alarmed at their assembling in this manner, fearing a conspiracy, and took refuge in the temple of Minerva; but when he was informed of their real design, he not only left his sanctuary, but joined their confederacy. Their first act was to establish a senate, as a middle power between the king and the people. The twenty-eight and their principal friends were, no doubt, the first senators; and the expectation of a similar honour contributed not a little to gain over the great. As to the people, that they might not think themselves entirely forgotten, they were granted the right, not of proposing or deliberating in their assembly, but, of assenting to or dissenting from what was proposed by the king or senate, by a simple affirmative, or negative. These preliminaries ad-

justed, he proceeded to frame the civil and moral laws, which, as some of them were of a very peculiar cast, rendered Lacedæmon an extremely singular republic. They were divided into twelve tables.

Religion.

Religion held the first place. All the gods and goddesses were to be represented armed, in order that the Spartans, who were to be a military people, might have the images of fortitude and valour incessantly before their eyes. Their sacrifices and offerings were to be simple, and of little cost, that there might be no difficulty in rendering to the gods the worship due to them. Prayers were to be short; for the gods know of what we have need. Tombs were to be near the temples, that by frequenting the latter they might become familiarized to the idea of death. Sepulchres were not to be magnificent, nor bear so much as an inscription, except those of men slain in war, or women who had dedicated themselves to a religious life. Lamentations and cries at funerals were forbidden, as unworthy the greatness of soul and fortitude of Spartans.

Division of
the lands.

All Laconia was divided into thirty thousand equal portions, and the city of Sparta into six thousand. These portions could never be divided, but must pass entire to the heirs, or those who acquired them. Should there at any future time be more citizens than these portions would suffice to maintain, colonies were to be sent out.

When a boy was born, the father was to carry ^{Domestic Laws.} him to certain of the gravest men of his tribe, who, if they found him well-formed and healthy, returned him to his parents ; but if not, threw him into a cavern at the foot of Mount Taygetus. The time that strangers might continue at Sparta was limited, that they might not corrupt the manners of the citizens ; those whose talents appeared to be useful to the republic, might be naturalized, and become citizens ; yet they could not enjoy all the privileges of Spartans unless they had passed through the rigours of a Spartan education.

Celibacy in men was infamous. The old ^{Marriages.} bachelor was obliged to walk naked, in the depth of winter, through the market-place, singing a satyrical song on himself. He had none of the honours paid him which were otherwise due to old age. The time of marriage was fixed, and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to a prosecution ; as were those likewise who married above or below their rank. Those who had three children were entitled to a diminution of their taxes ; and those who had four paid none. Girls had no marriage portions, that every one might follow his own inclinations. The girl was to be in the flower of her age. The husband, for two or three years after marriage, could only have access to his wife by stealth, that his love might not be too soon and too easily extinguished. Husbands might lend their wives ;

the kings alone being forbidden this liberty. In general, the women of Sparta did not value themselves greatly on their modesty.

Food.

From the cradle the nurse was sometimes to refuse the breast to the infant, to accustom it to abstinence. A young Spartan was brought up to remain without light in the night, to walk in the dark, and to be superior to the usual follies and weaknesses of children. The children of both rich and poor were educated alike, and in one common place, and lay on hard beds made of reeds from the banks of the river Eurotas. They ate in public; the old men sitting at table with them to examine and instruct them. Their principal dainty was their black broth, a dish composed of salt, vinegar, and blood. A Lacedæmonian knew not what it was to drink for pleasure. Drunkenness was infamous. Slaves were made drunk, and exhibited in this condition to the youth, in order to inspire them with abhorrence of this filthy vice.

Dress.

They wore clothing to defend them against the inclemency of the seasons, and not for ornament. Their garments, with respect to the fashion and stuff, were the same for the rich and poor. They were to be distinguished for their virtues, and not the elegance of their dress. Till the age of twelve they wore a tunic; and after that a cloak was added, of so thin a stuff, that a *Lacedæmonian vest* became proverbial to express any thing extremely

flimsy. Boys wore no shoes : they cut their hair very short ; but when they grew up, they suffered it to grow without cutting. A Lacedæmonian was unacquainted with either essences or perfumes. In war they wore purple habits, and crowned themselves with flowers before they charged the enemy. The vests or gowns of the females reached only down to the knees, or not so low. Only women of doubtful virtue might wear gold, silver, jewels, or other ornaments. Maidens appeared in public without veils, but married women veiled ; since it was proper that the former should be seen, though not the latter. In certain public exercises, to which girls were admitted as well as boys, they contended naked. By divesting the sex of its modesty, Lycurgus intended to render it less dangerous ; and to remove by the equality of birth and riches the motives of jealousy which introduce disturbance and commotions into a republic.

The great duty imposed on the Lacedæmonians was obedience to the laws, which did not permit that even the motive of what they commanded should be enquired into. All the children belonged to the state, and every citizen had an authority over them. If an old man was present when a youth committed a fault, and, either through negligence or partiality, did not reprove him, he was liable to the same punishment with the offender. Among the youths there was a chief empowered to reprimand or punish, which he

Discipline
and man-
ners.

sometimes did very rigorously. A young Spartan was reserved, silent, looked only forward, or on the ground, and never was seen but in the most modest attitude.

Studies and
learning.

The Lacedæmonians studied but little, did not cultivate writing, nor value themselves on speaking correctly. Hence the proverb :—" He speaks " very well for a Lacedæmonian." Their brevity, or *laconic* manner, was, however, greatly esteemed ; and has given to several of their expressions a sententious air, which has caused them to be preserved. They were even proud of their roughness and want of learning, and their attachment to the maxims of their ancestors. An Athenian reproached a Spartan with his ignorance, and boasted of the learning and knowledge of his own country. " What you say may be very true," replied the Lacedæmonian, " but from it you can " only conclude, that we alone among all the " Greeks have learned no bad customs from " you." A Spartan was only a foldier. The occupations necessary to be followed for the benefit of the whole were exercised by the Helots, who were not absolutely slaves, but a kind of inferior working people. Actors, augurs, rhetoricians, and other professors of curious arts, were not suffered in the city. They exercised their understandings in useful questions, such as : In what consists the merit of such an action ?—Does such a hero deserve the great character he has obtained ?

Raillery, provided it was delicate and not offensive, was recommended as capable of conveying useful lessons. They loved music, if we may call by that name their ancient songs, of which they were so jealous that they would not permit their slaves to learn the airs of them, or, at least, to sing them publicly. When several conceived a passion for the same girl there was no jealousy between the rivals, but rather, on the contrary, a more intimate connexion, and more emulation to please the person beloved.

The chase was an amusement prescribed to their youth, in order to render their bodies supple and agile. Dancing, and violent and warlike exercises, were common to both sexes, who engaged in them together. Thus the women, become as strong as the men, brought forth healthy and vigorous children; but they lost that tenderness which is, perhaps, the greatest charm of the maternal character. They were accustomed to view without emotion their children cruelly lashed at the altars, and applaud the firmness of the sufferers when they bore their torture without uttering a groan, or shedding a tear. Theft may be said to have been one of their exercises. It was permitted, provided the thief was sufficiently dextrous to avoid discovery; but the detection of it was severely punished.

Almost all their bargains were made by barter Money, or exchange; yet as money was necessary for some kind of sales and purchases, Lycurgus allowed

them coin; but only of iron, and so heavy that two horses were required to draw a very small sum. Thus the Lacedæmonians, possessing all the same quantity of land, and being unable to amass money, necessarily remained in a state of equality; and the more so, since the money of other countries was not current among them, and they were not permitted to lend at interest, or receive presents from foreigners. Thus there were no means for some to render themselves richer than others.

Courts of
Justice.

Lycurgus enacted that no one should approach the tribunals before he was thirty years old, not even to hear the pleadings, lest he should acquire a love for litigation. The motive of such or such a law was never to be enquired, obedience being the supreme law. Libertines, or spendthrifts, could never be appointed judges or magistrates in the republic; for how could they be qualified to decide on the interests of others, who had never been able to conduct prudently their own affairs?

Military
laws.

The first and principal military law was, likewise, obedience. Valour was not enjoined; it was, as it were, innate among the Lacedæmonians, imbibed with their mother's milk, nourished by example, and confirmed by the praises lavished on heroes, and the contempt inseparable from cowardice. "Return with your shield, or on your shield," said a Spartan mother to her son, when setting out for the army; that is, "Conquer or die;" it being usual to bring back the dead on

their shields. War was not to be carried on long against the same enemy, lest they should learn the military art, and acquire a martial spirit. They loved not the sea, because intercourse with sailors and foreigners would have corrupted their manners; nor sieges, because they thought no glory was acquired by conquering walls. Lacedæmon had no walls; the bodies of the inhabitants, as it was said, were its only bulwark. They relaxed a little in time of war from the austerity of their mode of life, in order that they might wish for it. When in the field they always slept armed. The advanced guard had no shields; that, deprived of this defense, they might be the more vigilant. In all their expeditions they carefully observed their religious rites. In the evening, after their meal, the soldiers sang together hymns in praise of the gods. When they were about to charge the enemy, the king offered sacrifices to the muses, that they might assist him to perform actions worthy of being transmitted to posterity: the soldiers put on chaplets of flowers, and advanced to the sound of flutes, which played the hymn of Castor. They never pursued the enemy except so far as was necessary to secure the victory. He who gained a victory by stratagem offered an ox to Mars; but he who was successful by open force only a cock. Stratagem, which spared the lives of men, was more valued than valour, which lavished them.

The *cryptia*.

It is not known whether Lycurgus was the author of a political, but very cruel, precaution, employed by the Lacedæmonians to diminish the number of their slaves when they appeared too numerous. It was named *cryptia*; that is to say, the ambuscade; and consisted in arming with poniards the bravest of their youth, and ordering them to exterminate, to a certain number, these unfortunate wretches; which they effected by murdering them in the night, or during the day, by surprise, while employed in their labours; and this in cool blood, without having the least cause of complaint against them, merely to put it out of the power of the remainder to form any plots against the state.

Notwithstanding the precautions taken by Lycurgus, his laws did not pass without opposition. A tumult took place in which he was wounded, and which gave occasion to add the law that no person should come armed to the assemblies of the people or of the magistrates. The difficulties which remained were at least suspended by the hope which Lycurgus had the policy still to leave to his opponents. He convened a general assembly, and thus addressed them: "There remains
"yet an important, and perhaps the most important, object to be communicated to you; but
"this must not be made known till after I have
"consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. I
"shall immediately repair thither. Solemnly pro-

“mise me faithfully to observe the laws I have
“established until my return.” The two kings,
the senate, and the people, took the oath that
he required. From Delphi he sent to Lacedæmon
this answer of the oracle: “The laws given to
“Sparta are excellent, and the city while it ob-
“serves them shall be the most glorious in the
“world.” At the same time they received this
oracle, the Lacedæmonians learned that their legis-
lator, after having offered a solemn sacrifice to
Apollo, had taken leave of his friends and his son,
and died by refusing sustenance. They therefore
considered themselves as bound by their oath for
ever to obey the laws which they had sworn to
observe till his return.

In fact, never was any people more warmly at-
tached to, or more scrupulously observant of their
laws; which were, doubtless, perfectly conform-
able to their character, since they rendered, and so
long maintained, them a flourishing nation. They
underwent but few changes. The history of Sparta
presents scarcely any of those interior shocks and
revolutions which render that of Athens interest-
ing. Besides military expeditions, of which too
minute details would be tiresome, the annals of the
kings of Lacedæmon offer heroic acts of patriotism,
sententious reflexions, expressions of dignified sub-
limity, and a magnanimity sometimes ferocious.

Charilaus, the nephew of Lycurgus, retained ^{2095.}
during his life a great reverence for his tutor, and

enforced the observance of his laws. Some person expressed a regret that Lycurgus had not enacted more laws: "Men of few words," said Charilaus, "need but few laws." The first war of importance in which the Lacedæmonians engaged was against the Messenians, and was equally cruel and unjust. The latter offered, in vain, to submit to the arbitration of the amphictyons, or that of the areopagus at Athens. The Spartans retained during three years their resentment for a trifling injury, and fell unexpectedly on the frontier city of the Messenians, and massacred all the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. They were then governed by their king Nicander, the son and successor of Charilaus, who commanded, or suffered, this act of barbarity; but who yet refused to receive any presents, saying: "Should I accept them, the laws and I could never agree."

2225.
War of
Messenia.
Aristodemus.

This war was continued with the utmost fury. The Messenians, being continually defeated, consulted the oracle, which answered, that a virgin of the royal blood must be sacrificed to the gods. The daughter of the king was selected as the victim, but her father fled with her; upon which Aristodemus, who was of the same family, offered his daughter. A young man, to whom she was affianced in marriage, declared that he had consummated it, and that she was not a virgin. Aristodemus, considering this imputation on the virtue of his daughter as a scandal on his house, killed

her with his own hand, and opening her body, shewed it to the people as a proof that the charge was false. At this price Aristodemus acquired the crown, which he afterwards merited by his wife and prudent conduct, and gained the competitors for his throne by promoting them to the first offices in his government, and placing in them the greatest confidence.

The impetuosity of the Lacedæmonians rendered them formidable in the open country; Aristodemus, therefore, drew them into defiles, and harassed and fatigued them. The Spartans then pretended to condemn to death, for the crime of treason, a hundred men, who fled to Ithome, a city of the Messenians, the gates of which, when they should be received, they were to open to their countrymen. Aristodemus, however, discovered their design, but, equally generous and brave, sent back the counterfeit criminals without inflicting any punishment on them; bidding them tell the Spartans, that though their injustice was new, their trick was stale. The efforts of Aristodemus did not prevent the Messenians from being frequently beaten; and they lost all their courage. In despair at finding that he could not reanimate their valour, he became a prey to melancholy, and killed himself on the tomb of his unfortunate daughter. His subjects submitted to the conditions imposed on them by the Lacedæmonians, which were, that they should give up to them half the

profits of their lands, of which the proprietors thus became their farmers ; and attend in mourning at the funereal processions of their kings, on pain of the severest penalties if they neglected.

Ephori.

About this time were instituted the ephori, though it is not known on what occasion. They were in number five, chosen from among the people by the people ; for every bold and factious citizen who was able to harangue might aspire to this office, which was intended as a check on the kings and the senate. To render their decisions of force, they must be unanimous. By degrees they acquired an unlimited authority. They presided in the general assemblies, declared war, made peace, determined the number of troops that should be raised, regulated the taxes, and distributed, in the name of the state, punishments and rewards. After this, it is not easy to say what power remained to the senate and kings, except that the latter commanded the armies. The ephori had the privilege of not sitting in the presence of the kings ; of giving their name to the year, like the archons at Athens ; and, in fine, the important one of censuring the conduct of the kings, and awarding punishments against them.

This check would have been unnecessary to kings who entertained the sentiments of Theopompus. He was accustomed to say, that a monarch, to avoid any occasion to fear, should permit his friends freely to give him their advice, and be

ever ready severely to punish the wicked. This wise prince knew, likewise, to appreciate justly mankind. "Time," said he, "advances and "raises the middling class of citizens, and devours "those who are too great."

The war of Messenia excited at Sparta discontents, which might have proved fatal to the state. The men having bound themselves by an oath not to return to the city till they had subdued the Messenians, and the war having lasted ten years, the women began to lose their patience, and the wives wrote to their husbands, that while they were so pertinaciously intent on conquering their enemies, they neglected other interests which ought not to be less dear to them. The warriors understood the meaning of the complaint, and, in part, provided for its redress. They selected such of the young men as had arrived at the army since the commencement of the expedition, and had not taken the oath, and sent them back to the city, with liberty to appease the murmurs of the females. A race of children were thus produced who were called *partheniæ*, or the children of virgins. As the connexions had probably not been very regular, these children when they grew up found they were not entitled to claim either fathers or property.

The Par-
theniæ.

Indignant at being thus abandoned, they joined the Helots, who were ever ready to rise upon their tyrants, and resolved to demand, with arms in

their hands, in the first assembly of the people, that property and a suitable rank in the state should be granted them. The signal for insurrection was to be a cap thrown up in the air. Almost at the moment when the plot was to be carried into execution, the ephori caused a proclamation to be made, that no one should throw up his cap in the assembly of the people. This prohibition shewed them, that their designs were discovered. An accommodation was entered into; and the fatherless youth being furnished with every thing necessary to establish a colony, set out under a leader they had chosen, and by their departure delivered the city from its fears.

Aristo-
menes,
2314.

It was not long, however, before Lacedæmon found new cause for alarm in Aristomenes, an enterprising youth, who had put himself at the head of the Messenians. The conditions imposed on that people were so oppressive, that he found no difficulty in exciting them to revolt. He procured them allies, and recommenced a war which his valour, and other great qualities, rendered very obstinate, and even extremely dangerous to the Spartans. After some first advantages, and having made them fear the effects of his arms, he attacked them with the weapons of superstition. Disguising himself, and entering Lacedæmon by night, he had the boldness to hang up at the gate of the temple of Minerva a shield with this inscription: "Aristomenes dedicates this to the goddess from

“the spoils of the Lacedæmonians.” The city was thrown into confusion. The oracle being consulted, answered: “Let the Spartans send for ‘a general from Athens.’” The Athenians, jealous of the Lacedæmonians, and little desirous to contribute to their success, sent them for a general one Tyrtaeus, a school-master and a poet, lame of one foot, and suspected of being subject to fits of insanity. They accepted him, and, encouraged by thus having complied with the directions of the oracle, took the field confident of victory, but were again beaten.

Confounded by this defeat, they thought only of soliciting peace; but Tyrtaeus reanimated their courage by his warlike songs, directed them by his advice, and prevailed on them to continue the war, and recruit their army with some chosen men from among the Helots. Aristomenes was again successful, but was wounded. He defeated the Spartans, and was beaten by their women, who even took him prisoner, but he made his escape. He carried fire and sword through their country, but saw his own likewise ravaged. Twice he was wounded, taken a second time, and carried to Lacedæmon. The utmost care was taken to cure him, in order to inflict on him a vengeance which disgraces the Spartans. They sentenced him to a punishment to which only the lowest criminals were condemned; that is, that he and his companions, who had likewise been taken prisoners,

should be thrown into a deep cavern. He requested as a favour to be permitted to keep his arms, and his request was granted. He remained three days in this fearful pit, amid the dead and dying, when, ready to expire with hunger and the stench of corrupting carcases, he heard a noise near him. It was occasioned by a fox gnawing a dead body. Aristomenes seized the animal as he endeavoured to escape by the hind leg, and, following him, was brought to a small hole through which the fox escaped. He here perceived a glimmering light, and his hopes revived. With his nails and his arms, notwithstanding his extreme weakness, he opened himself a passage, and reached Eira, a fortress of the Messenians.

Sparta learned his adventure by his victories. He had nearly carried thither the intelligence himself, and would have done so, had he not been betrayed by one of those who should have aided him in the project he had formed to surprize Lacedæmon, while the Spartan army was lying before Eira. This misfortune did not discourage Aristomenes; he had even the courage to expose himself again to the cruelty of the Spartans. He was again taken, but escaped by the compassion of a young woman, who put a poniard into his hands, with which he dispatched seven men who guarded him.

The siege of Eira lasted eleven years. While Aristomenes was confined to his bed by a wound,

the Lacedæmonians surprized the gates. The Messenians entrenched themselves within the city, and the battle continued for three days and three nights, the women fighting with as much fury as the men. At length, all hopes of preserving the city having vanished, Aristomenes assembled his unhappy countrymen, placed the women and the children in the centre, and formed the van and rear guards of Messenian youth, giving the command of the latter to his son Gorgus, and Mantichus, a brave Messenian. He put himself at the head of the van, and causing the last barrier to be opened, and brandishing his spear, marched directly towards the enemy. The Lacedæmonian general, either from compassion or prudence, ordered his troops to open to the right and left, and leave a free passage for these unhappy men thus reduced to despair. Aristomenes marched on to Arcadia, more triumphant, in reality, than his conquerors. The king who terminated the war with the Messenians was named Anaxander. He was asked why the Spartans kept no money in their treasury: "That the keepers of it," replied he, "may not be tempted to be thieves."

Military achievements, almost all resembling each other, merit but little to exercise the pen of the historian. There are, however, some which from their singularity excite admiration. Such is the action of king Leonidas when setting out to oppose the immense army of Xerxes. "I go," said

he, "ostensibly to defend the straits of Thermopylæ; but my real design is to die for my country." When he took leave of his wife, she asked him whether he had any thing particular to say to her: "No," said he, "except it be to enjoin you to marry some brave man, and bring forth brave children." She was named Gorgo, and was the daughter of king Cleomenes. In her very early years she had given a striking proof of her attachment to her country. Aristagoras of Miletus wished to prevail on Cleomenes, her father, to engage the Lacedæmonians to carry the war into Asia. Gorgo, then aged eight years, was present at their conference. Aristagoras requested the king to send her away, that they might speak more freely. "You may speak as freely as you please," replied Cleomenes, "for she is but a child." Aristomenes began by offering the king of Sparta a considerable sum, which he afterwards doubled, and then trebled.—"Fly, father," exclaimed the little girl, "or this stranger will corrupt you."

When he arrived at Thermopylæ, Leonidas, reviewing the three hundred who accompanied him, observed that many of them had not attained the age of manhood. He wished to rescue them from their approaching fate, and sent some of them away, under pretext of dispatching them with advice to the ephori. One of them, penetrating his design, refused to go, saying: "Sir, I came to

“ serve you as a foldier, not as a courier.” Another answered: “ Let us first fight, and afterwards I will carry the news of the battle.” We have already seen that they were all slain.

Pausanias, the conqueror at Plataea, presents in his conduct a strange contrast. When, after his victory, he entered the tent of Mardonius, the Persian general, he ordered the cooks to prepare an entertainment composed of all the delicacies of Asia; and, at the same time, directed that his own table should be served after the Spartan manner. When his orders were obeyed, he said, addressing himself to the Greeks around him, and pointing to both tables: “ Are you not astonished, my friends, at the folly of this king of the Medes, who being able to feast thus sumptuously at home, has come so far to despoil the Greeks who fare so hardly?” Happy had Pausanias been had he always retained these sentiments! But he suffered himself to be corrupted by the luxury he had contemned, acquired a taste for the customs of the Persians, and despised the simple manners of his own country. These voluptuous habits induced him to listen with pleasure to the propositions of the Persians, who offered to render him sovereign of Greece.

While he revolved in his mind this project, that disquietude which ever haunts him who meditates evil was the cause of an accident that embittered the remainder of his life. A very beautiful

woman, of whom he was enamoured, had promised to come to him in the night, and kept her word. He was sleeping, and the noise she made awaking him suddenly, he started up, and, full of the idea that some person was coming to seize him, hastily snatched his sword, and mortally wounded his dear Cleonice. To appease the manes of his mistress, he had recourse to the diviners, who called up her shade. The phantom said to him: "When you arrive at Sparta, you will find an end to all your misfortunes." In fact, his plots were there discovered, and the ephori gave orders to arrest him; but he took refuge in the temple of Pallas, which was an inviolable sanctuary. The difficulty of forcing him thence was not a little embarrassing; but, while the magistrates were deliberating on the method they should pursue, his mother—his own mother, took a large stone, laid it at the door of the temple, and retired without uttering a single word. The multitude collected around imitated her example; and Pausanias, thus shut in, expired with hunger.

Agis, 2331. Agis has been considered as a great politician. He it was who said—"Children are deceived with toys, and men with oaths." An action is related of the ephori of his time very suitable to this maxim. The Helots sometimes became so numerous as to excite apprehension in the republic. On one of these occasions the ephori caused to be published a promise of liberty to those who would

serve as volunteers in an expedition then preparing. Two thousand offered themselves; and their readiness to take the field shewed they were the most courageous and enterprising. Of these two thousand, thirteen hundred were put to death privately, and the rest sent to the war. Agis was acquainted with the thorns of power. "If we would rule many," said he, "we must fight many."

Under his reign appeared two celebrated generals, Callicratidas and Lysander. The disinterestedness of the former was above all praise. Cyrus, to whom the Lacedæmonians had sent auxiliary troops, remitting him money for the pay of them, added to it some presents for himself. Callicratidas received the money intended for the use of the army, but sent back the presents. "It is not necessary," said he, "that there should be any particular friendship between Cyrus and myself: if he is faithful to his alliance with the Lacedæmonians they will all be his friends, and I shall be among the number." He died like a hero, as he had lived. As he was preparing for a sea engagement, the augurs told him that the Spartans would be victorious, but that the admiral would be slain. "That is well," said he, "we will then fight. Sparta will not lose much in losing me; but she would lose her honour were I to retreat before the enemy." He appointed his successor, and died in the midst of victory.

Lyfander. Lyfander had the glory of taking Athens, and completely subjecting the Athenians. He destroyed their walls, burned their ships, and carried back his fleet to Lacedæmon laden with riches. The Spartans were embarrassed in what manner to dispose of them, the possessing of such treasures being contrary to the laws of Lycurgus. After many debates they determined that the state might make use of the gold and silver, but that no individual might possess either of these metals under pain of death.

Agefilaus. After the death of Agis, Lyfander contributed to place on the throne Agefilaus, the younger brother of the deceased king. This prince united qualities which seem incompatible. Though ambitious and brave, he was yet mild and amiable. Valour and pride, in him, were combined with goodness. His love for his country was such, that he preferred its interests to his own personal safety and tranquillity. His virtues alarmed the ephori, and they condemned him to a fine because he had *too much conciliated the affection of the people.* Agefilaus was well acquainted with the suspicious character of his countrymen, and carefully guarded against exciting their jealousy; to avoid which, he refused to accept the command of the army, till a council of thirty persons had been assigned him. It is true that this army was to decide the fate of Greece. Agefilaus then acted the part of Agamemnon, the head of the Grecian league against Troy. The king

of Sparta was, in like manner, the head of the Grecian league against the Persians. Being at Aulis, the similarity of his situation, it is probable, occasioned him to dream that the gods exhorted him to imitate the sacrifice of Agamemnon, of whom he was the successor. He thought he ought not to neglect the divine admonition; but for a virgin he substituted a hind, which he directed his augur to sacrifice. The Bœotians, in whose territory he was, pretended that he had violated their rights, and overthrew the altar with the victim on it. This trivial event, in the sequel, lost the Spartans the empire of Greece; because it occasioned between them and the Bœotians a war, in which all Greece took part, and which the valour and abilities of the Epaminondas rendered fatal to the Lacedæmonians.

There existed between Agefilaus and Lyfander a coolness, produced by jealousy. The king made rather a harsh use of the superiority of his rank, with respect to the general; but the latter yielded without degrading himself: and these two great men, who were not formed to be enemies, continued to act in concert for the honour of their country. Lyfander ended his days in this glorious career, being killed fighting against the Thebans. He had a thousand opportunities to enrich himself, yet left behind him so little wealth, that a rich citizen who was contracted to his daughter, finding that she was without a portion, refused to

marry her. The ephori condemned him to pay a fine, assigning as a motive for their sentence, that he must be of a mean and base character who would rather choofe to take a wife from an opulent than a virtuous family.

Battle of
Leuctra,
3628.

The war against the Bœotians, whose capital was Thebes, which had originated, as we have seen, from so trifling a cause, was continued with vigour. The Lacedæmonians were defeated in the plains of Leuctra, and suffered a loss unexampled in the history of their republic. When the news of this reached Sparta, the gymnastic solemnities were celebrating. The ephori would not interrupt the festival, but only sent to the different families the names of the persons belonging to them who had been killed. The magnanimity of the Spartans then shone forth in all its lustre. The parents and relatives of those who had been slain mutually embraced and congratulated each other, while the relations who survived dared not shew themselves; or, if they were obliged to appear, were seen with their arms folded, their eyes fixed on the ground, and exhibiting all the signs of grief and shame. Those who had fled from the field were degraded from their employments, condemned never to appear in public, except in motley dresses, and with their beards half-shaved; and to bear without resistance the insults, and even blows, of any person who might meet them.

The execution of this sentence conformably to

the laws of Lycurgus caused considerable embarrassment. Agefilaus was appointed dictator, with power to make such regulations on the occasion as he should judge proper. He appeared in the assembly of the people, and, with a word, dispelled the fears of the fugitives, yet preserved to the institutions of Lycurgus all their authority: "Let the laws," said he, "sleep for this day, and resume their authority to-morrow." He afterwards enrolled as many volunteers as offered themselves, taking them even from among the helots, and determined to march himself against the enemy. But before he could carry this resolve into execution, Epaminondas appeared before the proud city of Sparta, from which the fires of an enemy's camp had never before been discoverable. Agefilaus, however, took such well-concerted measures for its defense that he retired.

Amidst so many misfortunes, a conspiracy was discovered in the city, and two hundred of the conspirators had even possessed themselves of an important post. The senate was for attacking and putting them to the sword; but Agefilaus thought it dangerous to employ force, because the number of their accomplices was not known. He went, attended by a single servant, to the place where the rebels had assembled, and said to them: "Comrades, this is not the place where I wished you to take your station." At the same time, he pointed out to them different posts, in which

they would be separated. Thinking they were not discovered, they repaired to them, were taken, and punished.

The haughty Spartans had again the mortification to see the Thebans, under Epaminondas, ready to enter their city. Women, children, old men, all were obliged to arm and fight for their homes. They again compelled the Thebans to retire; but pursuing them injudiciously, they suffered a considerable reverse. Successive defeats obliged them to have recourse to the Athenians, whom they had so much humbled. At the end of the reign of Agefilaus, the death of Epaminondas caused them to gain some advantages; but they were never afterward able to recover that reputation and influence in Greece which they had lost. Even in this state of degradation they refused to sign an advantageous treaty, because the Messenians, their ancient rivals, were included in it. Agefilaus died at the age of eighty-four, covered with glory by his military achievements; but censurable for having engaged his country in ruinous wars, which, with a little less obstinacy and pride, might have been avoided. He was likewise greatly esteemed for the frugality and simplicity of his manners, in which he was not imitated by Archidamus, his son, who loved free-living and pleasure, and thought that "a good meal is not incompatible with virtue." That he might indulge this inclination without restraint or risk, he procured

to be employed in affairs which removed him to a distance from Sparta.

The son of a rigid father, but not inclined to severity of manners himself, Archidamus had a son named Agis, who practised the rough virtues of Sparta. While yet young, he was sent ambassador to Philip of Macedon, to whom the Greeks, lavish of flattery in the time of his prosperity and success, sent numerous deputations. This monarch was piqued at seeing Agis alone come as ambassador from Sparta:—"What!" said he, "only one ambassador from Sparta!" "I was sent," haughtily replied Agis, "only to one person." Being severely wounded in battle, he sent away those who offered to defend him:—"Reserve yourselves," said he, "for another occasion: you may yet be useful to your country." Not being able longer to support himself, he sunk on one knee, and fell on the bodies of those whom he sacrificed before he expired.

Eudamidas, his son, constantly opposed war. He wished to make the Lacedæmonians, weakened by their military expeditions, taste the blessings of peace: "I wish it," said he, "in order to convince them that they have been to blame." The advantages which his ancestors had gained against the Persians were represented to him, with a view to engage him to make war on the Athenians, who, it was alleged, were much less numerous: "Do you think," said he, "it is the

“same thing to make war against a thousand
 “sheep as against fifty wolves?” He one day
 came into the school of Xenocrates, and observing
 that he was very old, asked what was his profes-
 sion. He was answered that he was a wise man
 who fought after virtue: “Alas!” said he, “if
 “he is still seeking it, when will he practise
 “it?”

Siege of
 Sparta,
 2672.

Under Arcus, his grand-son, Lacedæmon was in
 the greatest danger from Pyrrhus king of Epirus,
 who was brought to besiege the city by Cleony-
 mus, who claimed the crown as the son of Agis.
 Pyrrhus being led by experienced guides, arrived
 at Lacedæmon before the inhabitants knew of his
 march. He was advised to take possession of the
 city immediately; but as it was late, and his army
 fatigued, he deferred entering it till the next day.
 When the Lacedæmonians saw him encamp, they
 conceived some hopes, and deliberated on what
 was to be done. Their first resolution was to put
 the women immediately on board their ships, and
 send them away to Crete. But this determination
 presently transpiring, the women assembled, and
 deputed Archidamia, one among them, to the se-
 nate. She entered with a sword in her hand, and
 said: “Senators, what an opinion must you enter-
 “tain of the Spartan women! Do you believe
 “them so cowardly as to survive the liberty of
 “their country? Deliberate no longer on the
 “place of our retreat: we are at Sparta, and at

"Sparta we will die. Confide in us: there is nothing we are not ready to undertake."

In fact, they undertook to perform a third part of the works that had been resolved on for the defence of the city; and, with the assistance of the old men, finished them in the night. During the assault, they were found mingled with the men in the most dangerous posts: they carried off the wounded, dressed their wounds, returned to those engaged, encouraged them to fight, and brought them refreshment. The battle was continued, even in the streets, with equal fury. The assault was renewed on two different days; till, at length, succours arriving to the Lacedæmonians, Pyrrhus was forced to retreat, greatly regretting that by the delay of a few hours he had suffered so valuable a prize to escape him. He attempted in his retreat to pillage Argos. He had already entered the city, when an old woman, seeing from the roof of her house the king raise his sword against her son, who was defending himself, threw a tile which struck him on the head, and killed him.

Misfortunes revived in Lacedæmon patriotic Ag's III. zeal, and the love of the laws of Lycurgus, which had been greatly enfeebled. This return to ancient principles gave birth to tragic scenes, the principal actors in which it will be necessary should be known, in order that we may the better follow the thread of the intrigue. These were, Leonidas

king of Sparta, the son of Cleonymus, who had brought Pyrrhus against Lacedæmon; Agis, his colleague, successor to his father Eudamidas; Agefilaus, his maternal uncle, the pretended partizan of Leonidas; Lyfander, the ephorus, the friend of Agis; Cleombrotus, son-in-law of Leonidas, the enemy of his father-in-law; Chelonis, daughter of Leonidas, and wife of Cleombrotus; Archidamia, sister to Leonidas, and mother of Agefistrata; Agefistrata, the mother of Agis.

Leonidas had passed several years at the brilliant and voluptuous court of Seleucus. He brought home with him a taste for luxury. Under such a king, an ephorus, named Opytadeus, thought a favourable opportunity offered to repeal the law of Lycurgus which deprived every citizen of the liberty of disposing of his lands by gift, sale, or testament. This law was already continually violated, but without its infraction being authorized; and about a hundred families were in possession of all the lands.

Agis, the other king, a young prince of great hopes, mild and modest, though brought up by Archidamia, his grand-mother, and Agefistrata, his mother, in delicacy and splendor, at twenty renounced pleasure, lived like an old Spartan, and said that he should not wish to be king, were it not that he hoped by the authority that character gave him to re-establish the ancient discipline. He was encouraged to this undertaking by Agefilaus,

his maternal uncle, an eloquent, but not very virtuous man.

In this attempt, he found an aid which he did not expect, in the support of Archidamia and Agefiltrata, though it was from them he had received an education so contrary to the Lacedæmonian manners. They yielded to the persuasions of Agefilaus, the brother of the one, and uncle of the other, and brought over to their opinion the most considerable women in the state. It appeared that the object of Agefilaus was no other than to supplant Leonidas, by forming a considerable party in his favour among the common people. Leonidas was supported by the rich, and the two factions commenced open war.

The law in favour of the rich, proposed by the ephorus Opytadeus, was opposed by another, which Lyfander, another ephorus, presented to the senate. The principal articles of it were, that all debtors should be discharged from their debts; that there should be a new distribution of the lands; and that as the number of ancient families was much diminished, the vacancy should be supplied by a kind of adoption of the youth of the adjacent countries, who should be subjected to the exercises, diet, and discipline, of Lycurgus.

It may easily be conceived that this law was very agreeable to the people; nor was it disliked by a great part of the senate, since it was rejected only by a single vote. Each of the parties then

laboured to support itself with the authority of a king; the poor with that of Agis, and the rich with that of Leonidas. As the latter possessed firmness, and even influence with the people, no attempts were made to injure him with them; but the ephorus Lyfander instituted a prosecution against him for having married a foreign woman, a crime punished with death in a king of Lacedæmon. Leonidas was so terrified at this accusation, that he sought an asylum in the temple of Minerva. Lyfander then introduced on the scene Cleombrotus, the husband of Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, and himself a prince of the blood-royal, who by virtue of the abdication of his father-in-law demanded and obtained the crown. Leonidas fled, and Chelonis rather chose to accompany her unhappy father than to reign with her husband. Agefilaus had planned the assassination of the fugitive king; but Agis disconcerted the scheme, and saved him.

The two kings now professing the same principles, were about to pass the law in favour of the poor, when the time for the re-election of the ephori arrived; and the chiefs of the opposite faction found means to procure themselves to be chosen into that office, and cited Lyfander before them, for having, in conjunction with the other ephori, his colleagues, proposed, contrary to law, the abolition of debts, and the division of the lands. The accused had recourse to the kings,

and remonstrated, that the ephori having been only established to decide between the two kings when they differed in their opinions, the power of these magistrates ceased when they were agreed. In consequence of this reasoning, the two kings went immediately to the ephori, commanded them to resign their seats, and appointed others to the office, at the head of whom they placed Agesilaus.

This man possessed, as we have seen, considerable abilities, but was artful and wicked, and equally deceived all parties. He had persuaded Agis, his nephew, a young man of a frank and open disposition, and an enthusiast in the cause of liberty, that he had in view the same object with himself. To his sister, the queen his niece, and the principal ladies of Sparta, he represented what a noble act it was to sacrifice their riches; and to the people, he declared that he laboured only to promote their interests, though the impostor was intent only on his own. He owed many debts, and possessed a very large and valuable estate. When he found the two kings were agreed with respect to the abolition of debts and the division of the lands, he suggested to them that it would be dangerous to attempt both these operations at once. They listened to his advice; and all obligations were first ordered to be brought in, and burnt immediately. The artful Agesilaus, who now possessed his estate

unincumbered with his debts, found means to defer the division of the lands; and a war taking place, Agis was obliged to leave Lacedæmon. During his absence, Agefilaus, who governed in quality of ephorus, was guilty of so many acts of violence and injustice, that the people, already irritated at having been deceived, drove him out, and recalled Leonidas. Agis, who had returned, took refuge in the temple of Minerva, and Cleombrotus in that of Neptune.

Leonidas employed every means he could invent to draw Agis from his asylum; but none of them succeeding, he corrupted some of his friends, one of whom, named Amphares, had an immediate interest in the death of the king and the destruction of his family, because he had borrowed of his mother, plate and rich moveables, which he expected to appropriate to himself by their death. They were three in number, and seized Agis, when returning from the bath, confiding in their protection, and carried him off to prison; whither the new ephori, appointed by Leonidas, together with some senators whose votes had been bought, immediately repaired. Among other interrogations, Agis was asked, whether he had not been forced by Lyfander and Agefilaus to do what he had done. He replied: "I have not been forced by any person: "I formed the design myself, and my intention "was to restore the laws of Lycurgus." "But "do you not now," said one of the judges, "re-

"repent of your rashness?" "No," replied he; "death, which is before my eyes, cannot make me repent of a noble and virtuous action." This answer was his sentence: the ephori condemned him to be strangled. It was difficult to find an executioner, for the guards melted into tears. "My friend," said the king to one of them, "weep not for me, for I have not merited the punishment I am to undergo: I am happier than those who have condemned me." He suffered death with a firmness worthy of his rank and the character he had sustained.

Amphares, one of the traitors who had seized him, presided at the execution. When it was over, on coming out of the dungeon, he met Agesistrata, the mother of Agis, who threw herself at his feet. He raised her: "Your son," said he, "has no ill treatment to fear; you may go in and see him." She requested the same permission for Archidamia, her mother, and it was granted. The latter entered first into the dungeon. Amphares caused the doors to be shut, and ordered that she should be immediately strangled. When he thought the execution completed, the monster told the mother she might now go in if she pleased. She entered, and beheld the body of her son stretched on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck. After the first agony of her grief, she assisted the executioners in taking down the body, and laid it gently by the side of her son,

covering it with a linen cloth. Then throwing herself on her son's body, she kissed it tenderly, exclaiming: "O my son, it was the excess of thy
"goodness which ruined thee, and us with thee!" Amphares, who listened at the door, entered in a rage: "Since you approve the actions of your
"son," said he, "you shall share their reward;" and immediately ordered her to be strangled. "May the gods grant," said she, "that all this
"may be of benefit to Sparta!" She presented her neck to the executioner, and died.

Leonidas was still more enraged against Cleombrotus than against Agis; and the former would certainly not have escaped with life, but for the intercession of his wife Chelonis. We have already seen that she bravely shared in the disgrace and exile of her father Leonidas. On the present occasion, she appeared before him in a mourning habit, in a suppliant posture, and with her two children in her arms, and addressed him in the following pathetic words: "These mournful vest-
"ments are the same I wore when I left Sparta
"to accompany you into exile. Now that you
"are restored to your country, and have re-af-
"firmed your throne, must I continually live in
"tears? Or ought I to put on magnificent robes,
"when I see the husband you have given me
"ready to be murdered in my arms, by your own
"hands? If Cleombrotus cannot appease you by
"the tears of his wife and of his children, he will

“ be more punished than he deserves, since he will
“ see expire before him a wife whom he so tenderly loves. For how shall I be able to endure
“ to live or appear among the other women of
“ Sparta, who have not been able to move by my
“ prayers my husband in behalf of my father,
“ nor my father in behalf of my husband? Unhappy woman that I am! I was born to suffer
“ equally as a wife and as a daughter, from those
“ to whom I am united by the most tender ties.
“ As to Cleombrotus, I sufficiently condemned
“ his conduct when I forsook him to follow you:
“ at present you will justify it yourself, by shewing
“ the world that the desire of reigning authorizes
“ the putting to death of a son-in-law, and disregarding the prayers and tears of a daughter.”

She obtained his pardon; but as she had refused to share the throne of her husband, to follow her father into exile, so she now attached herself to the misfortune of her husband, and accompanied him into banishment. This tragedy concluded with a marriage. Archidamus, the brother of Agis, was obliged to fly; but was obliged to leave his wife, who had just lain-in, behind him. As she was a rich heiress, Leonidas forced her to marry his son Cleomenes. Her youth and charms gave her a great ascendancy over her young husband, whom she inspired with very different sentiments on the subject of government from those of Leonidas his father. As to the perfidious Agesilaus, the

true cause of all these murders, it is not known what became of him. He probably led, in obscurity, a life too contemptible for the notice of history.

Cleomenes,
2783.

After the death of Leonidas, Cleomenes, his son, ascended the throne. He possessed all the virtues of the ancient Spartans, and the desire of reviving them. His reign began with victories which caused him to be dreaded by the ephori, who feared lest the splendor of his success should give him too much influence with the people. Cleomenes thought, in fact, that a war which would render necessary the levying of an army would be the true means of facilitating the execution of his design. By the application of money, he prevailed on the ephori to consent to the recommencement of the war, and to give him the command of the troops. Crateficlea, his mother, the widow of Leonidas, who was far from having adopted the opinions of her husband, supported the division of the lands. She, after some time, married again, in order to strengthen the party of her son, with one of the principal persons of Sparta. She declared herself willing to give up her estates, in case a new division should take place, and prevailed on her husband to make the same promise.

Cleomenes took with him to the war those whom he most suspected, and signalized himself by achievements worthy of a Lacedæmonian

prince. When ready to return, he fatigued his army with marches and counter-marches in such a manner that many requested to be left in the places that had been conquered. He took with him, therefore, only those who were friendly to his designs. When he arrived near Sparta, he sent before him a body of troops in whom he could confide to rid him of the ephori, from whom he had already experienced, and still feared, resistance. Of the ephori, four were killed, and the fifth made his escape.

On the next day, Cleomenes made his appearance in the forum, ordering all the chairs of the ephori to be removed, except one which he reserved for himself. After having given an account to the people of his conduct and his intentions, he protested that it was contrary to his inclination that he had been obliged to have recourse to violent measures, and that he would permit himself but one more, which was the banishment of eighty citizens, whose names he caused to be fixed up. He was the first to deliver up his whole property to the public stock. His friends and father-in-law imitated his example. In the division of the lands he assigned a portion to each of those he had banished, and promised to recal them as soon as should be consistent with the public safety. He appointed his brother Euclidas to be king with him, which greatly pleased the people, who feared that he wished to occupy the throne alone. The

other laws of Lycurgus, especially those relative to the education of children, were re-established; and, to support these changes, he levied a considerable body of troops, which he disciplined and armed in a new manner. He gave, with respect to luxury, the example which he prescribed. He had neither rich habits nor costly furniture; but in every thing preserved the ancient austerity. He did not, however, lay aside that gaiety and affability which was natural to him; and it is remarked that, a friend to liberty, even at the table, he would not permit too pressing invitations to be a constraint on the freedom of enjoyment.

Unhappily, a rivalry arose between Cleomenes and Aratus the chief of the Achæans. Notwithstanding the exertions and abilities of their king, the Lacedæmonians, enfeebled by former wars, were unsuccessful. Cleomenes, pressed by the enemy, had recourse to Ptolemy king of Egypt, who promised him succours, on condition that he would send him his wife and children as hostages. This demand extremely embarrassed Cleomenes. More than once he resolved to speak to his mother on the subject, but found himself unable. When at last he disclosed the proposal to her: "What," said she, laughing, "is this the mighty secret you were so fearful of telling me! For heaven's sake let me go immediately on shipboard, and be conveyed to any place where my poor body may be of service to Sparta, before death shall

“destroy it.” When she was about to embark for Egypt, she took her son aside into the temple of Neptune, where she embraced him, and bathed him with her tears; but seeing those of her son likewise flow, she said to him: “Come, king of Lacedæmon, let us dry our tears, that no person may see us weep, or behave in any manner unworthy of our country. We are only masters of our actions; events must happen as the gods shall dispose them.” When she had arrived in Egypt, she wrote to him thus: “King of Sparta, undertake boldly whatever may appear to you useful or glorious for your country, and do not suffer yourself to be restrained, through fear of what Ptolemy may do to an old woman and an infant.” These were the last effusions of Lacedæmonian magnanimity. Cleomenes was defeated by the Macedonians, obliged to fly from Sparta, and take refuge in Egypt. After having been at first well received, Ptolemy conceived suspicions of him, and threw him, and those who had followed him, into prison; where, as they despaired of escaping, they killed each other. Ptolemy caused his body to be fixed to a cross, in the sight of his mother, whom he afterwards put to death with the remainder of his family.

The flight of Cleomenes had delivered Sparta and Laconia into the power of the Macedonians, who contented themselves with holding them in a

kind of subjection; but suffered them to elect kings, who were, Ageſipolis, the grand-ſon of Cleombrotus, and Lycurgus, who was not of the royal family, but procured his elevation by a ſum of money given to each ephorus. He drove out Ageſipolis, and being himſelf threatened by the ephori was obliged to fly. He left the throne to Machanidas, who annihilated the power of the ephori, and was killed fighting againſt the Achæans.

Nab's,
2803.

After his death, Sparta groaned under the power of Nabis, who is represented as the moſt odious of tyrants. It is not known how he obtained the throne, but it is known that when he was ſeated on it he ſhewed himſelf the enemy of all who were diſtinguiſhed by their birth, their merit, or their courage, murdering ſome, and baniſhing others that he might afterwards more eaſily aſſaſſinate them. He invented a machine reſembling a woman magnificently attired. Whenever he wiſhed to extort money and it was reſuſed him, he brought forward this machine, which was thickly ſet with ſharp points of iron, and which embracing the unhappy wretch, forced him to give whatever the tyrant demanded. Under his government, cruel and iniquitous as it was, Sparta recovered ſome portion of her ancient ſplendor. Her victories forced the Achæans to call in the Romans to their aſſiſtance. Titius Quintius came as arbiter between the contending parties. On

his arrival in Greece he marched against Lacedæmon, which greatly alarmed Nabis, who feared the enemies he had within the city. To prevent the rising of the latter at the approach of the Roman general, he assembled the citizens without the city, and surrounding them with his troops reminded them, in a studied speech, of the exertions he had already made, on several occasions, to save Sparta, declaring that he was still ready to expose himself to every danger for the good of his subjects: "But," added he, "I see myself forced to require of you one thing which is equally necessary to your safety and mine. There are among you persons whose conduct I suspect. I propose to confine them in prison till the danger shall be past, when I shall be extremely happy to release them." The multitude, astonished, remained motionless, while the guards of the tyrant seized eighty persons of distinguished reputation for honour and integrity; and the night following they were put to death in prison. He likewise caused a great number of the Helots whom he distrusted to be cruelly scourged and put to death.

The Roman general, agreeably to the policy of his republic, permitted himself to gain so much advantage over the tyrant as was sufficient to humble but not to destroy him, lest the rest of Greece, freed from the fear of Nabis, should become more difficult to subjugate. A powerful

league was formed against him, at the head of which were the Ætolians; but, notwithstanding the numbers of the united forces, they were unable to succeed against Nabis but by surprize. After his death the Spartans, encouraged by Philopœmen the general of the Ætolians, resumed their liberty, and joined the Achæan league.

The enslaved condition of the Lacedæmonians under the last tyrants is attributed to three causes, First, the corruption of manners, which is always the first step towards servitude. Secondly, the proscription of persons most distinguished for their merit, riches, and authority, who were forced to abandon their country. Thirdly, the patience of persons of mild and amiable character, who in the midst of their misfortunes cherished hope, and believed themselves free, because the republic was enslaved by its own citizens, and not by strangers. Thus disappeared from among the powers of Greece that of Lacedæmon, which had once held a rank so distinguished. It had not even the honour to take its place among the Grecian republics, which the Achæan league supported for some time against the Romans, and nothing remained of Sparta but the name,

THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE.

Achaia was the centre of the most durable confederacy that has existed. The genius of its inhabitants, and those of the neighbouring countries,

as well as their respective position, must certainly have been peculiarly favourable to such an association, since it began in the time of Gyges, their last king, that is to say, at the termination of the heroic ages, and continued till the reign of Alexander. When destroyed by that conqueror it was revived under the name of *the Achæan league*, and supported itself with distinguished honour, till it at length sunk beneath the enormous power of the Romans.

This league originally comprehended all the provinces on the continent, properly called Greece; that is, Attica, Megaris, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, Ætolia, and Doris. It was afterwards bounded by the bay of Corinth, Sicyon, and Elis.

Achaia, though originally but an inconsiderable state, rose insensibly to a degree of power superior to that of the great states of Greece. This preponderance it owed neither to its population or the valour of the Achæans, but to the wisdom of its laws. After having shaken off the yoke of their kings, the Achæans formed the plan of a democratic government, which all the cities of their small republic adopted in such a manner that, though these cities formed but one body, they were still all independent of each other. They were united by a strict alliance, and governed by the same laws. They had the same money, the same weights and measures, the same magistrates; and,

in a word, there was so much conformity between them, that all Achaia appeared to be only a single city. It was this which induced several of the neighbouring countries to adopt their form of government, and accede to their league. The laws of this first association are not known, and perhaps were no other than the necessities of mutual aid against those who wished to subjugate them. When a power arose which they could not resist, like that of Alexander, the association ceased of itself.

But the Achæans, not having as yet had time, under his successors, to forget the value of liberty, resolved to shake off a yoke equally burthenfome and disgraceful. The inhabitants of Patræ and Dyme, two not very large cities, renewed their ancient association. Other neighbouring cities, not much more considerable, joined them, after having killed the tyrants who oppressed them. The good order which reigned in this small republic, in which liberty and equality were found united with a sincere love for justice and the public good, induced several other cities to imitate their example. But the league acquired no remarkable strength either for resistance or attack, till the counsels and achievements of Aratus had given it some confidence.

Aratus,
2723.

He was the son of Clinias, one of the best citizens of Sicyon. The inhabitants had chosen Clinias for their chief, and lived happily under his

government, when Abantidas found means to seize on the sovereign authority. His first care was to dispatch Clinias and all his family. Aratus, though only seven years old, would not have been spared had he not made his escape amid the tumult and confusion that filled the house when his father was killed. After having wandered for some time about the city, he by chance entered the house of the tyrant's sister in order to conceal himself. She, persuaded that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulse of some deity, caused him, the ensuing night, to be secretly conveyed to Argos, where he was educated with the utmost care by some friends of his father.

Aratus was only twenty years of age when he formed the project of restoring liberty to his country. Notwithstanding the attention of Nicocles, the successor of Abantidas, who watched all his motions, the young Sicyonian found means to raise troops. He scaled the walls of Sicyon in the night, and Nicocles immediately fled. The next morning the people being assembled in a tumultuous manner, and scarcely knowing what had been transacted, a herald proclaimed with a loud voice :
“ Aratus, the son of Clinias, invites the citizens
“ of Sicyon to resume their ancient liberty.” Not a single drop of blood was shed in this revolution. But Nicocles did not resign his power without making any attempt to recover it. He applied to Antigonus king of Macedon, who protected and

furnished him with troops. To resist his attack, Aratus found no better means than to engage the city of Sicyon to join the Achæan league, which had been revived. He likewise added to it the city of Corinth, the citadel of which he took from the Macedonians. This became an important place to the league, which was soon joined by several other considerable cities, whose kings, denominated tyrants, voluntarily resigned their authority. It is from this time, nearly, that we must date the laws which formed the constitution of this league.

All the cities were subjected to a great council, which assembled twice in the year. Each of them sent to it a number of deputies, chosen by the citizens by the majority of votes. This council enacted laws, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, and disposed of the vacant employments. The president was chosen in the general assembly by the majority of votes. He might be at once president and general of the army. He possessed very great power, but was responsible for his conduct. He was assisted by a council of ten magistrates called demiurgi, who, in the absence of the president, had the whole management of civil affairs, and might even, in some extraordinary cases, summon the general assembly, without waiting for the stated time of its meeting. When any city of the league refused to acquiesce in the resolutions of the assembly, or to

furnish its contingent in time of war, it might be compelled to it by force of arms. No prince, state, or city, could be admitted into the league without the consent of the whole alliance. No proposition could be made to the assembly by strangers, unless it had first been communicated in writing to the president. The members of the council were forbidden to receive any presents under any pretext whatever. The general assembly could not sit longer than three days.

The first war, of any importance, entered into ²⁷⁷⁸ by the league, was against the Lacedæmonians, engaged in it by Cleomènes, their king, who found it requisite to give employment to his subjects; and against the Ætolians. The advantages obtained by these two enemies compelled the league to call to its aid Antigonus, and the Macedonians; and this combined force ruined Cleomenes. The Ætolians, deprived of the support of Lacedæmon, were obliged to remain quiet. As they lived principally by plunder, they were soon weary of the peace which followed the war of Cleomenes, and attacked the Messenians, who belonging to the league, called for its aid. It undertook their defense. But Aratus, who commanded the Achæan troops, suffered a considerable check, in consequence of which he advised again to call in the Macedonians. Philip, the successor of Antigonus, came to the assistance of the league; but while he laid waste Ætolia, the Ætolians ra-

vaged Macedon, and all was confusion in Peloponnesus.

A court intrigue had a great influence on these warlike expeditions. Philip, a young prince, eager to acquire glory in arms, had committed the conduct of the affairs of his government to Apelles, his minister. The latter took umbrage at the esteem which his master testified for Aratus. He instilled his own sentiments into several Macedonians of rank, and formed a cabal which laboured by every means to overturn the influence of the stranger. Many enterprizes failed, and well-concerted projects proved abortive, because they had been advised by Aratus. Philip, however, still persevered in his attachment to him, and perceived in his minister such glaring treachery, that he resolved to punish it. Apelles returning from an expedition which had terminated prosperously, because, having conducted it himself, it was his interest it should succeed, on his arrival was met by all the courtiers, who accompanied him as it were in triumph to the palace. But when he expected to be received there with marks of the greatest favour, the guard refused him admittance. Immediately the crowd of flatterers disappeared, and the minister returned home disappointed and mortified. As he, however, possessed real abilities, the king, who hoped this little reproof would produce amendment, restored him to his confidence, which Apelles again abused. By

his intrigues he produced a mutiny in the army, on account of some pretended injustice in the division of the booty, of which he said Aratus was the author. Philip then thought it necessary to lay the axe to the root of the evil. He disguised his intentions till he had taken all the necessary measures, when he caused Apelles to be arrested. He was punished with death, with one of his accomplices, another of whom killed himself.

The calamities produced by these wars induced all parties, and Philip himself, to wish for peace. In the conferences which were opened at Naupactus, Agelas, the ambassador of the allies, delivered a speech in the presence of the king which the event might induce us to consider as a prophecy. "It were to be wished," said he, "that the
 "Greeks should not thus continually make war on
 "each other, but that they should rather join
 "hands, and unite their forces to defend themselves against the barbarians, from whom they
 "have so much to apprehend. If such an union
 "cannot be eternal, at least we ought to unite in
 "the present moment, and watch over the preservation of our liberty, now threatened on
 "every side. The shallowest politician cannot
 "but foresee that the conquerors in the foreign
 "wars now carrying on, whether Carthagians or
 "Romans, will not confine their ambition to
 "the empire of Italy or Sicily, but will attack
 "Greece. All the Greeks, and you especially, O

Prediction
of Agelas.

“ Philip, ought therefore to reflect on the dangers
 “ with which they are menaced. You may avert
 “ them from the Greeks, if, instead of making
 “ war on them as you have hitherto done, you
 “ sincerely espouse their interests, and watch for
 “ their defense. By this means you will gain
 “ their confidence, and engage them to remain
 “ faithfully attached to you. If, panting for glory,
 “ you are ambitious of achieving some great en-
 “ terprize, turn your eyes towards the west, and
 “ profit by the events of a war which has set all
 “ Italy in a flame. Seize the opportunity with
 “ courage and prudence, and I promise you the
 “ empire of the world. If, on the contrary,
 “ you suffer the storm which is gathering in the
 “ west to burst upon Greece, it is much to be
 “ feared that you will soon be unable to make
 “ either war or peace, or even to regulate your
 “ domestic affairs according to your own plea-
 “ sure.”

Death of
 Aratus,
 2787.

This judicious discourse determined all the par-
 ties to conclude a general peace, but it did not
 continue long. Hannibal engaged Philip to take
 part against the Romans. The king of Macedon,
 to render himself useful to his new ally, thought
 it requisite to render himself powerful in Greece,
 and seized on Ithome, a strong place in Messenia.
 Aratus did not greatly approve of this conquest:
 “ By keeping it,” said he, “ you will lose your
 “ principal citadel—your reputation.” This re-
 publican frankness displeased the king. Aratus

perceived it, and retired to Sicyon with his son, who, though young, was already highly esteemed. Philip, fearing the opposition that might be made to his ambitious projects by the counsel and bravery of these two men, procured a slow poison to be given to the father, the effects of which appeared only as the symptoms of an ordinary malady. Aratus, however, was not deceived with respect to the cause of his illness ; for one of his friends expressing his surprize at seeing him spit blood : “ You see,” said he, “ my dear Cephalion, “ the fruits of the friendship of kings.” The son was treated in a still more cruel manner. A poison was given to him which deranged his understanding, and caused him to commit such abominable actions as must have rendered him both contemptible and odious could they have been supposed to be voluntary. The Sicyonians honoured the obsequies of the father by hymns, odes, and funereal games, and decreed that divine honours should be paid him. He is to be considered as the principal support of the Achæan league.

The prophesy of Agelas already began to be ^{2796.} fulfilled : Philip, in the cities he besieged, and the armies he attacked, continually found Romans at their head. He engaged the Achæans to join him against them. The troops of the league were then commanded by Philopœmen, who was so successful that a general peace was concluded, during

which the Romans prevailed on the Achæans to unite with them.

Greece declared free,
2807.

They joined their forces, and forced Philip to accept a peace on the conditions which Rome and the league thought proper to impose on him. The principal of these was, that Philip should evacuate all the places he held in Greece. The Romans were desirous to retain some themselves, in order to secure a footing in the country, but their ambassador Flaminius thought it would be more to the honour of the republic to make a display of disinterestedness. From acting the part of an ally, he passed, according to the haughty genius of his nation, to that of a protector. He took the opportunity afforded by the Isthmian games, at which were assembled deputies from all parts of Greece, to cause a herald to proclaim this famous decree :
 “ The senate and people of Rome, and Quintus
 “ Flaminius proconsul, after having conquered
 “ Philip, and given peace to the Macedonians,
 “ declare the Corinthians, the Phocæans, the Lo-
 “ crians, the Eubœans, the Magnesians, the Thef-
 “ salians, the Perrhæbians, the Achæans, and
 “ the Phthiotes, entirely free. All these nations
 “ shall live in an independent state, and be go-
 “ verned only by their own laws.”

Disinterest-
edness of
Philopæ-
men, 2812.

By this general liberty the Achæan league was strengthened with several new allies, and among others Lacedæmon, which city the generous Philopæmen delivered from the cruel tyranny of Na-

his. From the riches found in the palace of that usurper the Spartans took a considerable sum, which they proposed to present to their deliverer. But when they came to consider of the manner of transmitting it to him, so great was the veneration entertained for his virtue, and the fear of offending him, that no person could be found who would undertake to make the offer; and they were obliged to have recourse to a decree, enjoining Timolaus, his particular friend, to acquit himself of the commission. Twice he attempted to obey the injunction, and twice he was so overawed by the frugality, the austerity of manners, and greatness of mind, of Philopœmen, that he dared not speak to him on the subject. Being forced by the Spartans to return a third time, he with difficulty overcame his repugnance, and made the proposal. Philopœmen listened to him coldly, assembled the citizens, and after having expressed the lively gratitude he felt, added: "Keep this money, O Lacedæmonians, to purchase those who, by their seditious discourses, sow discontent in the city, that, being paid to refrain from speaking, they may no longer cause disturbance; for it is much better to close the mouth of an enemy than that of a friend. As for me, you may always rely on my friendship, which shall never cost you any thing."

Under the command of Philopœmen, the Achæ-^{His death, 282o.} an league maintained itself, notwithstanding all

the secret efforts of the Romans to undermine and destroy it. That great man, who has been called the last of the Greeks, was wounded and taken prisoner in an action against the Messenians, who had separated from the league. The conquerors were divided in opinion with respect to their prisoner. Some could not, without shedding tears, see in chains that hero of Greece under whom the greater part of them had fought and conquered, and who had delivered them from the tyranny of Nabis; while others thought they viewed in him a humbled enemy. The latter, that they might enjoy this spectacle at their ease, required that, wounded as he was, he should be brought into the theatre; but his enemies, perceiving that the sight of him revived the esteem and affection of the people, hurried him away, and threw him into a dungeon, where, wounded, ill, and fatigued, he passed a cruel night. The next day the people assembled, and it was proposed to obtain from the enemy advantageous conditions in exchange for their illustrious prisoner, but those who had excited the people to revolt against the league, fearing they should find in him an implacable enemy, determined to put him to death. The executioner, by their order, carried the prisoner to Philopoemen, who, when he saw him enter with a cup in his hand, raised himself with difficulty, and enquired with a calm and undisturbed air, whether the youth who had fought with him

had escaped into a place of safety. "Not one of them," replied the executioner, "is either killed or taken." "It is sufficient," said Philopœmen, "I die content." He took the cup and emptied it with an expression of joy in his countenance. It was not long before his death was avenged. The Achæans invested Messene, and required that the murderers of Philopœmen should be delivered up to them. The people did not hesitate to comply with their demand; and the principal among them, named Dinocrates, killed himself, the others were surrendered to the Achæans. The urn which contained the ashes of the deceased hero was carried in triumph to Megalopolis, his native city, escorted by the whole army, and followed by the Messenians who had been the authors of his death in chains, and who were stoned to death on his tomb. There were few cities of Greece who did not erect some trophy to Philopœmen.

The Romans courted the favour of the Achæan league, from political views, as long as they feared it should succour Perseus king of Macedon, with whom they were at war; but when they had conquered that prince, they ceased their complaisance, or rather commenced those acts of injustice which, in the end, rendered them masters of Greece. They not only excited the different cities to make war on each other, but even maintained fatal dissensions in the very heart of those cities. Their partisans were certain of being supported, how

Injustice of
the Romans,
1836.

ever unjust their pretensions. They suborned the slaves against their masters, kept infamous informers in their pay, and soon it became a crime to have failed in attachment to the interest of the Romans. They drew up lists of proscribed persons, and sent commissioners appointed to carry their secret sentence into execution. In a public assembly of the Achæans, one of the commissioners had the insolence to require that all those who had assisted Perseus should be previously condemned, after which he said he would name them. "Name them after they are condemned!" exclaimed the assembly; "is that justice? Begin by naming them, and let them defend themselves. If they can allege nothing in their justification, we promise to condemn them." "You promise," replied the commissioner, "why all your general officers, all who have held any employment in your republic, have been guilty of that crime." Xenon, a person of great credit, and extremely respected by the whole league, then rose, and said: "I have commanded the army; I have had the honour to be the chief magistrate of the league; and I protest that I have never done any thing contrary to the interest of Rome. If any one can bring a charge against me, I am ready to justify myself; either here, before the assembly of the Achæans, or, at Rome, before the senate." The commissioner immediately laid hold of the

latter expression, and said: " Since Xenon has
" named the senate, he and the other persons ac-
" cused cannot appeal to a more equitable tribu-
" nal." He then named those who were accused,
and ordered them to appear and plead their cause
before the senate. They were more than a thou-
sand in number, all men of distinguished merit,
and this was their only crime.

Their departure was a very severe blow to the
Achæan league. When they arrived in Italy they
were distributed in different cities, where they were
kept prisoners as if they had already been con-
demned. The council of Achaia sent deputies to
Rome to require that their cause might be heard ;
but the senate replied, with equal treachery and
falshood, that the exiles had been found guilty in
Achaia, and had been only sent to Rome to know
what punishment should be inflicted on them. The
Achæans then sent a solemn embassy, which em-
barrassed the senate ; but still they answered, that
it was not to the interest of the Achæans that the
exiles should return to their country. To another
embassy, which descended to supplications, the in-
exorable senate gave the same refusal ; and these
repeated solicitations had no other effect than to
render their slavery more rigid. Seventeen years
passed in fruitless applications, till the exiles were
reduced to about three hundred ; when Polybius,
who was one of these unfortunate persons, and
who had rendered services to Paulus Æmilius in

the education of his children, obtained, by his influence, that the affair should be brought before the senate. Cato, in complaisance to young Scipio, promised to support the petition. When it was presented, the conscript fathers were divided in their opinion; however it appeared that the majority was unfavourable; when Cato rose up, and assuming an air of great gravity, said: “The world must surely think we have nothing at all to do, to see us debating with so much warmth whether some poor old Greeks shall be buried in Italy or in their own country.”

This pleasantry made the senate ashamed of disputing any longer, and the petition was granted. Polybius was for supplicating the senate to decree that, on their arrival in Achaia, they should be reinstated in all their offices and dignities; but before he presented his request he asked the advice of Cato, who said to him, with a smile: “Polybius, you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses: you wish to return into the cave of the Cyclops, to fetch away some wretched tatters you have left there.”

Two of these deputies, Critolaus and Diaus, returning to their country with the desire of vengeance in their hearts, proposed to restore the league to its ancient authority, but they only precipitated its ruin. They had neither the wisdom of Aratus, nor the courage of Philopœmen, yet undertook what those heroes would probably never

have attempted under the same circumstances. The ancient patriotism was destroyed among the great, and only existed among the populace as a transient fermentation. With these dispositions it was impossible to expect any great and durable efforts, which were indispensably necessary to oppose the art and perseverance of the Romans. The two Achæans had the imprudence to attack the Romans in front. They openly declared against them, charged them with the worst intentions, and caused their deputies to be insulted by the people. Not finding themselves supported by the persons of rank and property, they ill-treated them, accused them to the people as enemies of their country, and set on foot prosecutions against them, which obliged them to fly. The troops of the republic exhibited the effects of this desertion, being composed of a confused multitude without discipline though full of rashness and presumption.

Such was the army which Critolaus and Diaeus Taking of Corinth, 4857. opposed to Mummius, under the walls of Corinth. A battle decided the fate of the Achæan republic. Though blind courage, for a while, held the victory in suspense; knowledge and experience, at length, obtained it. Critolaus was killed, and Diaeus fled, with all speed, to Megalopolis, his native city, and entering his house, set fire to it, threw his wife into the flames, lest she should fall into the hands of the enemy, and ended his own life by poison. He might have retired to Corinth,

which was one of the strongest places in the country, and have obtained there an honourable capitulation; but the Corinthians were so confounded at this defeat, that they did not even think of shutting their gates, which remained open three days; their walls, at the same time, being without defenders. Mummius, at first, dared not enter the city, fearing an ambuscade. At length he ventured, and having secured possession of it, gave it up to be pillaged by the foldiers. The men were put to the sword, and the women and children sold for slaves.

The treasures found in it were immense. Corinth surpassed every other city, both in the quantity and richness of its statues, pictures, and other valuable effects. Many admirable works of art fell into the hands of the foldiers, who, neither able to perceive their beauty, nor knowing their value, either destroyed them, or sold them almost for nothing. As a proof of this, it is said that some of them played at dice on a picture painted by Aristides, esteemed the most perfect piece in the world; and very willingly exchanged it for a more convenient table to play on. But when the spoils of Corinth were put up to sale, Attalus king of Pergamus offered for it six hundred thousand sesterces, or about five thousand pounds sterling. The consul, surprized that the price of a picture should be carried so high, thought there was some magical virtue in it; and, therefore, interposing

his authority, retained it, and carrying it to Rome, placed it in the temple of Ceres. Mummius, in fact, was not more of a connoisseur in works of art than his soldiers; for when he put the pictures and statues he had taken at Corinth on board the transports, he told the masters of the vessels, very seriously, that if any of them were either lost or spoiled, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost.

After the pillage, the city, pursuant to orders from Rome, was reduced to ashes. The gold, silver, and brass, which the Corinthians had concealed, being melted together in the conflagration, ran all into one mass, and formed a metal composed of the three, which became afterwards very famous, and in great request, by the name of Corinthian brass. The walls of the city were demolished, and razed to the very foundations. With Corinth fell the Achæan league, of which it was the capital. The Romans abolished the popular government in all the cities; they were, however, permitted to retain their own laws, under the inspection of a prætor. Thus Greece became a Roman province, and was subjected to an annual tribute.

Nero restored to Greece its ancient privileges, and transferred the tribute to Sardinia. Vespasian reduced it to its former state of subjection. Nerva and Trajan granted to Achaia at least the shadow of liberty. Constantine the Great placed this pro-

vince in the præfecture of Illyricum. On the division of the empire, Achaia, with the rest of Greece, fell to the emperor of the East. During the reign of Honorius and Arcadius, the Goths ravaged these provinces, under their king Alaric, and reduced the beautiful edifices that still remained to a heap of ruins. In the twelfth century, the emperor Emanuel, or Manuel, divided Peloponnesus into seven principalities, which he bestowed on his seven sons. It was called the Morea, from its resemblance to the leaf of a mulberry-tree, called in Greek *morea*, and in Latin *morus*. In the thirteenth century, when Constantinople was taken by the western princes, the maritime cities of Peloponnesus, with most of the islands, were allotted to the Venetians. The Turks made themselves masters of the Morea under Mahomet II. By the treaty of Carlowitz, in 1699, the Turks yielded it up to the Venetians; but retook it in 1715, and in their possession it still continues, being governed by a sangiac, under the beglerbeg of Greece, who resides at Modon.

ÆTOLIANS.

Ætolia, between
Locris and
Acarnania,
Epirus, and
the bay of
Corinth.

Character of
the Ætoli-
ans.

The Ætolians are represented as a turbulent and restless people, seldom at peace among themselves, and always at war with their neighbours. It is added, that they had no sense of honour, were ever ready to betray their best friends for the least gain, and, in a word, were considered by the

other states as outlaws and robbers. This character, which is drawn by Polybius, the Achæan, appears to be exaggerated: the Ætolians were not greater robbers, more greedy of plunder, or vexatious to their neighbours, than the other nations of Greece. Ardently devoted to liberty, they shook their chains with endeavours to break them. When attacked, they returned the attack, which produced a continual reaction; but they do not seem to have been more restless or turbulent than the Achæans.

It would be difficult to decide between these two nations which was the aggressor; or which gave the example of a conderation, uniting the neighbouring cities under the same laws, and forming a federative body. The conditions of the Ætolian league were the same with those of the Achæan; except that they did not engage to compel, by force of arms, those who did not concur with the majority to take part in a war; a moderation which does honour to their justice if not to their policy. They had not the good fortune to have at their head men of the great reputation of Aratus and Philopœmen; but they did not want for men of probity to advise them, nor for able generals who performed illustrious achievements, with soldiers indefatigable, intrepid, persevering, equally patient in a besieged city and ardent in the field, and, when occasion required, excellent sailors.

Actions of
the Æto-
lians.

They were the first of the Greeks who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the perfidious insinuations of the Romans, with whom they entered into an alliance to repel Philip king of Macedon, by whom they were threatened. When they hoped that the Romans would aid them to terminate this war in such a manner that they should have nothing more to fear from the Macedonians, they saw themselves deceived by their faithless allies, who finding it their interest to make peace, concluded one, without regarding the danger to which they exposed the Ætolians. The latter then accepted the aid of Antiochus king of Syria.

Antiochus,
2812.

This prince had been prevailed on by Hannibal, who had taken refuge at his court, to make war upon the Romans. The question was, whether the war should be made in Greece or carried into Italy? Hannibal, always persuaded that the Romans could only be conquered at home, advised the latter; but Antiochus thought it would be sufficient to raise a rampart in Greece against the ambition of these republicans, especially if the Ætolians would sustain the first attack. Antiochus endeavoured to gain them, and with that view sent ambassadors to a general assembly in which was to be discussed the proposition of an alliance between the king and the republic. Flaminius, the Roman general, likewise repaired thither.

Flaminius.

The ambassadors of the Syrian monarch made a

long enumeration of the nations which their master would bring to the aid of Greece, distinguishing each by its name. Flaminius, in his turn, spoke as follows: " Attempts have been made to terrify
" you, by enumerating the nations which you are
" told will inundate Greece like a torrent. This
" reminds me of an entertainment given me by a
" friend of mine in Chalcis, who is a man of
" humour and treats his guests with great politeness. He invited me to a banquet, at a time of
" year when venison was very scarce, and yet
" there seemed to be great plenty of it served up
" at his table, at which I expressed my surprize;
" but my friend, smiling, told me that what I
" took for venison was nothing but pork, disguised several ways, and seasoned with different
" sauces. The same may be said of the troops of
" this mighty king, of which such a pompous
" enumeration has been made. The Dahæ, the
" Medes, the Cadusians, the Elymæans, names,
" in fact, unknown in Greece until this day, are
" all only one nation, and what is worse, a nation of slaves. Whatever disguises may be
" used, they are all but one sort of men;—whatever the sauce may be, the dish is the same." Flaminius afterwards proceeded to employ political arguments, which made such an impression on the Achæans, with whom the assembly was held, that they joined the Romans; but the Ætolians entered into an alliance with Antiochus.

This monarch, in his exertions, did not equal the hopes of the allies. At an age more than mature, he married a very young wife, in whose arms he forgot, during many valuable months, at once Rome, Greece, and Syria. He was the more to blame for this negligence as he ought especially to have profited by the first ardour of the *Ætolians*, a people formidable in the commencement of an enterprize, and whose impetuosity was terrible. They had evinced this character in a war against *Lacedæmon*, which was unable to resist them. *Antiochus* was roused from his lethargy by the success of the Romans: he was driven from post to post, and after a considerable defeat, obliged to embark his troops. The *Ætolians*, thus abandoned, took refuge in their cities, which they defended with vigour. *Naupactus*, one of the principal of these, resisted with success the siege of the Roman legions. The *Ætolians* took advantage of the gleam of hope afforded by the raising of this siege to endeavour at obtaining an accommodation with Rome. They made their proposals in the most submissive manner; but the senate received them with a haughty air, and acted as was customary with them when they wished to retain every thing, and at the same time preserve the honour of an appearance of justice. They proposed an alternative no part of which could be accepted, by requiring that the *Ætolians* should either pay an

enormous sum of money, or submit to whatever the Romans should command.

This sum it was totally impossible that the *Ætolians* should raise; they, therefore, enquired what were the commands to which they were expected to submit. But to this question they received only very vague answers, which convinced them that the real object of the Romans was no other than to subject them entirely. Inflamed with rage, they frantically attacked the allies of the republic, overrun Macedon, which was under the protection of the Romans, and carried fire and sword through the country. In the mean time, the Romans gradually advanced, and conducting the war with coolness and prudence, were constantly successful. They took *Lamia*, the capital of *Ætolia*, and, at length, sat down before *Ambracia*, the last strong hold of the *Ætolian* republic.

The Romans employed against this city all the stratagems and machines which the art of attacking places then afforded; and the *Ætolians* neglected none of the means of defence then in use. They also invented an ingenious machine to prevent the progress of mines. The Roman miners hollowed a subterraneous passage, continuing it till they came under the wall, which they supported with beams of wood till their work was finished, when they set fire to them, and the wall fell, leaving a breach of greater or less breadth, at which

the assailants entered. The besieged, on their side, opened a countermine, where they heard the strokes of the pickaxes of the Romans; and when they met the opposite miners, a battle ensued, but the besiegers did not abandon their mine. The Ambracians, in order to drive them out, invented a machine which they brought to the place where the two mines met; this was a hollow vessel with an iron bottom bored through in many places, and armed with spikes at proper distances, to prevent the enemy from approaching it. This vessel they filled with feathers, and with bellows driving the smoke on the besiegers, obliged them to leave the mine to avoid being suffocated, which gave time to the Ætolians to repair the foundations of their wall.

Ambracia capitulated on rigid conditions, which foreboded those that would be imposed on the whole nation, now divided by the intrigues of the Romans. These prescribed a profound veneration for the majesty of the Roman people; that all prisoners and deserters should be given up; that a heavy fine should be paid, part immediately in ready money, and part within a limited time; that forty hostages should be delivered at the choice of the victors; in fine, all the most humiliating and oppressive conditions that could be imposed on a conquered and enslaved people.

The Romans after this took offense not only that some Ætolians had taken part in the war

against Perseus, but that they had merely inclined to favour that prince. All who had incurred this suspicion were obliged to go to Rome to justify themselves from the charge, where they were detained prisoners, and never returned. It is said, that five hundred and fifty of the principal persons of the nation were assassinated for no other crime than being suspected; and the commissioners sent by the senate declared that they had been put to death justly, since they had brought on themselves that punishment by favouring the Macedonian party.

The Ætolians remained in a state of absolute slavery till the destruction of the Achæan league, when they were admitted to a share in that kind of liberty which was left to Greece. Ætolia, afterwards, sometimes made a part of the eastern empire, and sometimes was under the government of particular princes. In 1432 Amurath II. united all the parts of it under the dominion of the Turks. The famous George Castriot, called Scanderbeg, defended it a long time, as his patrimony, against all the forces of the Ottoman empire, and left a part of it to the Venetians. The latter lost it under Mahomet II. whose successors still retain possession of it.

ATHENS (*a Province*).

If the history of nations concluded at the time Athens.
when they cease to be political states, after the destruction of the Achæan and Ætolian leagues, no-

thing would remain to be said of Athens, nor of several other republics which have been swallowed up in that of Rome; but in the fragments of ruined edifices we frequently find some remains of monuments which attest their ancient grandeur, and still excite a lively interest.

The small portion of liberty which remained to the Athenians after the destruction of the Achæan league was envied them by Philip king of Macedon. This prince threatened them, and they called in against him the aid of Attalus king of Pergamus, the Rhodians, and especially the Romans. The latter had begun to acquire a taste for the sciences and arts, and esteemed, as honourable to them, an alliance with a city which was justly considered as the centre of all useful and agreeable knowledge. They sent them succours, and Philip was defeated and obliged to fly.

The siege
of Athens,
2712.

This important service, which ought to have attached for ever the Athenians to the republic of Rome, did not prevent them from taking part against it with Mithridates king of Pontus. They were excited to this revolt by a philosopher of the sect of Epicurus, named Aristo, who was held in great repute, and possessed considerable influence in Athens. The principal citizens did not approve of this new alliance. Aristo, as he had no hope of gaining them over to his party, resolved to prevent their opposition by rendering himself master of Athens. He concerted the execution of his de-

sign with Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, who took possession of the isle of Delos, and pillaged the celebrated temple of the Delian Apollo. This island had formerly belonged to the Athenians; Archelaus therefore declared that he would cause the booty to be conveyed to Athens, as originally appertaining to that city. The Athenians, delighted with this act of generosity, did not even bestow a thought on the escort that accompanied the present, but suffered two thousand men to enter the city. No sooner was this force within the walls than Aristo disposed of all the offices, and reigned in Athens with sovereign authority. All those who were favourable to the Romans were either murdered or sent prisoners to Mithridates.

The war now began to be carried on with a cruelty which would have disgraced the most barbarous nations. Bruttius, a Roman general, having taken a small island which had afforded an asylum to some ships of Mithridates, caused all the slaves to be crucified, and cut off the right arms of all the natives of the island who fell into his power. This Bruttius preceded Sylla, who was appointed to carry on the war against Mithridates. Sylla, to deprive that monarch of the resources he found in Greece, resolved on the siege of Athens. This city was then very strong, and consisted of three parts: the citadel; the lower city, composed of two parts, separated by a thick wall, and

each surrounded by a strong rampart; and the ports Munychia and Piræus which formed but one, and were joined to the city by two very high and thick walls. Aristo undertook the defense of the city, and Archelaus that of the ports.

Sylla flattered himself that he should be able to carry the port of the Piræus by assault, but was repulsed; he therefore determined to attack Athens in form. He blockaded it during the winter, and employed that season in making preparations, and especially in constructing machines. Whole forests were cut down, nor did he spare the groves and trees of the lyceum. He demolished all the edifices of which the enemy might take advantage, or whose ruins might favour their approach. As the country, in itself sufficiently sterile, had been entirely laid waste, twenty thousand sailors were daily employed in bringing provisions to his army.

These expenses soon exhausted the military chest. In his distress Sylla had recourse to the sacred treasures. He wrote to the Amphictyons, then assembled at Delphi, and requested them to send him the treasures of Apollo, solemnly promising to restore to the god, whom he *truly revered*, the value of what should be advanced. A native of Phocis, named Caphis, whom he sent to present this request, told the priests that he had been charged with this message against his will. He wept, and entreated them to consult the oracle.

The god returned no answer, but the sound of his lyre, it was said, was heard in the sanctuary. When this circumstance was related to Sylla, he said to Caphis: "Does not every one know that music is always expressive of joy? Go, bring me the treasure, and be assured that in so doing you will act agreeably to the will of the God." Having taken this liberty with one divinity, he made no scruple to take the riches of *Æsculapius* from his temple at Epidaurus. With the assistance of these supplies, Sylla, in the spring, proceeded to invest Athens still more closely.

His principal efforts were directed against the Piræus, which was attacked and defended with equal valour. Sylla had a great advantage over Archelaus, in being informed, almost every hour, by the spies he had within the city, of the plans and designs of the latter. This intelligence was conveyed to him by being written on leaden bullets which were thrown with slings into his camp; but the valour of Archelaus rendered almost always this treachery useless. Surprized and attacked contrary to all expectation and probability, because his designs were discovered, he, nevertheless, repulsed the Romans, and even sustained three assaults in one day, without yielding any advantage to the assailants.

In the mean time famine rapidly increased in Athens. Many of the citizens lived only on the herbs and roots which they could pick out of the

walls: In these distressful circumstances, the senators and priests threw themselves at the feet of Aristo, entreating him to have pity on the city, and surrender on any tolerable conditions, but he caused them to be driven violently from his presence. In the midst of this public misery, the tyrant and his friends passed, like true Epicureans, their days and nights in debauchery, and had their tables covered with dainties. At length, when they had eaten all the animals, horses, dogs, and cats, they were reduced to the extremity of feeding on boiled pieces of leather, and even on human flesh.

Aristo then pretended to have compassion on the people, and sent deputies to Sylla; but these ambassadors were merely declaimers, who talked of Theseus, and other great heroes of Athens, and their ancient exploits against the Medes: "I would advise you," said Sylla, "to keep these flowers of rhetoric for another occasion. The republic did not send me to hear long details of your ancient prowess, but to punish your rebellion." The Roman general, knowing with what violence famine raged in the city, quietly waited till it should be compelled to surrender at discretion, or some commotion should deliver it into his hands. An accident hastened this event. He learned that a weak part of the city was but feebly guarded, attacked it, made a breach, and entered with his troops. The soldiers laid down

their arms, and the people begged for quarter. But the same people had before, with their accustomed insolence, spoken of Sylla in the most abusive terms of contempt, for which, now he was conqueror, he took an exemplary vengeance. He gave up the city to be pillaged by his troops, and permitted them to put to the sword even women and children. The carnage was dreadful. The soldier, animated with the resentment of his general, equally punished those who had offered the affront, and those who had not prevented it. To the inhabitants who escaped from the first fury of the army, Sylla granted their lives : but he forbade them ever to repair the breach by which he had entered, and took from the citizens the right of choosing their magistrates; though this he soon after restored.

The Athenians afterwards took the part of Pompey against Cæsar, and sustained a siege by the latter, who pardoned the living, as he said, for the sake of the dead, and took Athens under his protection. After his death they supported the cause of Brutus, and afterwards that of Anthony. Augustus punished them for having declared for the murderers of Cæsar, their benefactor. Germanicus granted them a licitor, which was a mark of sovereignty. Vespasian reduced Attica to a Roman province, saying that the Athenians knew not how to be free. Adrian, who before his ac-

cession to the imperial throne had been archon of Athens, either honorary or otherwise, when he was emperor restored to the city its privileges, presented it with a considerable sum of money, assured it of a certain supply of corn, and repaired its harbours; benefits which gained him the title of its second founder. Antoninus Pius, and Antoninus the philosopher, confirmed these privileges; Severus retrenched them, but Valerian was more favourable.

Constantine declared himself the protector and friend of the Athenians, and honoured their first magistrate with the title of grand-duke. The generosity of Constantius put them in possession of several islands in the Archipelago. Under Arcadius and Honorius they suffered much from the Goths, who pillaged the city, and laid in ruins the magnificent edifices that still remained. In the thirteenth century, Athens appertained successively to the Latin lords, to the Greek empire, and to the Arragonefe, who were dispossessed by a Florentine named Reiner Acciaioli. He left Athens to the Venetians, and Boeotia to his natural son, named Anthony. The latter took Attica from the Venetians, and endeavoured to defend his dominions against the Turks, but lost both them and his life. In 1687, Athens was taken by the Venetians, but retaken some years after by the Turks, in whose possession it still remains. The

smaller states in the vicinity of Athens, of which we have already spoken, have undergone the same changes with that city.

BEOTIANS.

After the expulsion of their kings, the Bæotians formed a republic, at the head of which they placed a prætor, who incurred the penalty of death if he did not resign his office at the expiration of the year. A council of seven, nine, or eleven members, called Bæotarchs, was a check on the authority of the prætor. They held the first posts in the army, and magistrates named polemarchs administered justice. There were four councils, which appear to have been composed each of deputies from different districts, who, when assembled, decided in the last instance on all public affairs. It is remarked as a singularity, that at Thebes, the capital of Bæotia, merchants and artificers were admitted into the number of citizens, though they were excluded from all public employments. A law which does honour to humanity forbid the exposing of children. Those who were unable to maintain them might apply to the magistrate, who found some person who was willing to take them; and the child became the slave of him who brought him up.

Bæotia, between Attica, Phocis, and Corinth.

The Bæotians being surrounded by republics more powerful than themselves, yielded to the impulse thus given them. Their plains frequently

served as a field of battle for their enemies and their allies. Sometimes, likewise, they took their share in war; and their soldiers, more firm than impetuous, were much esteemed. They were reproached, when their republic drew to a close, with being traitors and assassins; but a whole people never becomes wicked on a sudden, and without cause. They were oppressed by the Romans, the tyrants of all who did not meanly crouch to their power. The Bœotians were not in a condition to resist as a nation, but they attacked them individually. Every Roman who passed through their country on business, or for traffic, was murdered, and thrown into a lake. It was a long time before the cause of the absence of those who disappeared was even conjectured; but it was at last discovered. The Roman proconsul who was appointed to chastise them imposed at first a heavy fine on the whole nation; but afterwards, tempering severity with lenity, remitted the greatest part of it; and only required that the most guilty of the assassins should be delivered up to him. They were punished with death, and Bœotia became a Roman province.

ACARNANIANS.

Acarnania,
between
Ætolia and
Epirus.

The situation of the Acarnanians attached them more than the other Greeks to the kings of Macedon. The consul Flaminius, however, undertook to engage them to espouse the interests of Rome

against Philip, and thus to deprive that prince of his most faithful allies. He assembled them at Corcyra, where the plan of a treaty was drawn up, the ratification of which was referred to a second meeting, which was held at Leucas, the capital of Acarnania. The proposal of the Roman negociator was opposed by some resolute persons, who loudly remonstrated against the infamy with which they said the nation must be branded, by violating the faith of former treaties. The people, violently prejudiced against the Romans, declared that they would never submit to that imperious republic, and the prætor, or president of the assembly, was deposed merely for having proposed the affair. The consul, by his intrigues, gained at least the advantage of sowing dissensions among the Acarnanians. He hoped that their divisions would deliver them into his hands without a defence, and in this confidence laid siege to Leucas; but was astonished on approaching the city to see the walls lined with soldiers, prepared for a vigorous resistance. Their behaviour corresponded with their appearance: three times Flaminius attacked the ramparts, and thrice was he repulsed. The siege would probably have been of long continuance, had it not been for the treachery of some banished Italians, who, to obtain their pardon, introduced the Romans into the place. The taking of the capital so terrified the Acarnanians that they abandoned Philip, and submitted to the Romans,

who left Acarnania in possession of its own laws, till it was made a Roman province, after the taking of Corinth.

EPIROTS.

Epirus, between Ætolia, the Adriatic sea, Macedon, and the Ionian sea.

The Epirots afforded a striking example of the inhumanity of the Roman republic, which, from the bosom of its triumphs and its pleasures, sent fire and sword through every nation that hesitated to submit to its absolute will; and imposed on its generals the necessity of executing, even against their inclination, the proscriptions it commanded.

This nation received its liberty from Deidamia, the grand-daughter of Pyrrhus. She, dying without issue, bequeathed to the Epirots freedom from monarchical power; and they established a republican government, under the authority of magistrates elected annually in a general assembly. The kings of Macedon, regretting that the Epirots, who had been their subjects, should have escaped from them, made continual incursions into Epirus. The Romans sent succours to the Epirots against Philip; yet Perseus found means to gain them to his party. They espoused his quarrel against the Romans, which so irritated the senate, that they sent orders to Paulus Æmilius, after the conquest of Macedon, to give up the whole country to pillage, and raze the cities to the very foundations.

Æmilius shed tears on receiving this barbarous

decree, but he could not decline the execution of it. Under pretext of withdrawing the garrisons, that Epirus might enjoy complete liberty, he sent bodies of troops into all the cities, who were everywhere received with the greatest demonstrations of joy ; and on a day appointed, at the same hour, he let loose his soldiers, who murdered, robbed, and pillaged, under the condition that all the plunder should be brought into one common stock, and divided in equal portions among the troops. Besides the gold and silver reserved for the public treasury, a hundred and fifty thousand men were sold as slaves for the benefit of the republic. The principal persons of the country were carried to Rome, where they were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and all the cities of Epirus, to the number of seventy, were dismantled.

Epirus, after this terrible blow, never recovered its ancient splendor. It became, under the Romans, a part of the province of Macedon ; fell, after Constantine, to the share of the emperors of the East ; was preserved to the Greek princes, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins ; received from the victories of Scanderbeg a transient lustre ; and is at present subject to the Ottoman emperors, under the name of *Albania*, whence they procure their bravest soldiers.

IONIA.

Ionia, between Æolia, the Ægean sea, Caria, and Lydia.

Ionia contained several cities, less celebrated for the beauty of their edifices than the events of which they have been the theatre. The vicissitudes of each of these cities form the history of the country.

Among the principal of them was Phocæa, which is at present only a small village, named Foggia, situate on the sea-shore, at a small distance from Smyrna. The Ionians and Athenians disputed which were its founders. Its inhabitants were considered as the first Greeks who undertook long voyages. They navigated even as far as Spain; and found, in the bay of Cadiz, a king who received them very favourably. They communicated to him the fears they were under of an attack from Cyrus, and he generously offered them an asylum; and on their declining to accept that offer, gave them a large sum of money to fortify their city.

In fact, they were afterwards, as they had expected, attacked by Harpagus, the general of Cyrus. When the city was on the point of being forced, they asked a truce for three days; and Harpagus, though he suspected the use they intended to make of it, granted their request. Within this time, they embarked their wives, children, and all their riches, and sailed away to Chios; where they proposed to purchase of the

natives some small islands belonging to them ; but the people of Chios not wishing to have them for such near neighbours, they returned to Phocæa, surprized the Persians who were in the city, and put them to the sword. Fearing, however, they should not be able to maintain possession of it, they did not remain there, but again set sail ; binding themselves by a solemn oath never to return, till a mass of red-hot iron, which they threw into the sea, should appear again on the surface unextinguished. Yet on the assurance of an amnesty from the Persians, more than one half of the fleet returned to Phocæa.

The remainder became pirates, and infested the coasts of Gaul, Italy, and Carthage ; and made Alaria, in Corsica, the repository of their plunder. Driven from thence by a league formed against them by the nations which had suffered by their depredations, they retired with their wives and children to Rhegium, but soon left that place, and settled in Oenotria, now Ponza, a small island in the Tyrrhenian sea, opposite Velia, in Lucania, which their ancestors had founded.

Those who returned home lived in subjection either to the Persians, or tyrants of their own, and had recourse likewise to piracy, carrying their prizes into Sicily, whence they committed depredations on the Carthaginians and Tuscans, but never made any attack on the Greeks. Phocæa declared for Antiochus the Great against the Ro-

mans, who took it, but granted it a pardon. It again took part against them in favour of Attalus king of Pergamus, and its destruction was decreed at Rome; but the Massilienses, a Phocæan colony, interceded for it, and with much difficulty obtained a revocation of the severe sentence. Pompey granted Phocæa great privileges, which rendered it, under the first emperors, one of the most flourishing cities of Asia Minor.

Smyrna.

Smyrna is supposed to have been built by the Ætolians. The inhabitants of Colophon, a city of Ionia, driven from their homes, it is not known by whom, were very kindly received by the Smyrnæans. But the latter going one day to offer a sacrifice without the city, found themselves shut out by the Colophonians; and all they could obtain was, that their effects should be restored to them. They afterwards were dispersed among the cities of Asia, who adopted them.

The vanity of the Smyrnæans led them to pretend that their city was founded by an Amazon, rebuilt by Alexander, and that it would never be destroyed but by an earthquake. By the latter, in fact, it has often suffered, but its advantageous situation for commerce always soon caused it to rise again from its ruins. It was "the capital; the first and chief city of Asia; the ornament of Ionia." Such, at least, it is styled in the inscriptions found among its ruins. We likewise find among them very beautiful statues, and re-

mains, in excellent preservation, of a theatre built of marble, a circus, baths, and temples. An ancient author informs us that the streets were straight, broad, and paved with fine stone; that there was a public library, and that the harbour might be shut in at pleasure.

Smyrna distinguished itself by its attachment to the Romans, even in the time of their distress, and, especially, during the greatest success of the Carthaginians. The Smyrnæans carried their flattery of their ally so far as to build a temple with this inscription: "To Rome the goddesses." The emperors, especially Tiberius and Marcus Aurelius, granted them great privileges. Smyrna is still extremely populous, for a city of Asia, and the centre of a very active commerce, though under the dominion of the Turks, who favour it but little. The Smyrnæans were considered as much addicted to pleasure, though not on that account the less brave.

Clazomenæ first belonged to the Lydians, afterwards to the Persians, and next to Alexander. It was originally built on the continent, but afterwards on an island, which Alexander joined to the mainland by a causeway. The Romans always treated the inhabitants very favourably, on account of their advantageous situation to assist them in their projects on Asia, and support their conquests. They were declared a free people. Augustus em-

bellished this city, which is, at present, but an inconsiderable place.

Erythræ.

A sybil gave her oracles at Erythræ; Teos was the native city of Anacreon; Priene was the birth-place of Bias; Colophon, of Menander; and, even, as it pretended, of Homer.

Ephesus.

Ephesus, according to the boast of its inhabitants, was built by the Amazons. But when they rejected fables, they acknowledged Lyfimachus for its founder. He was displeased with the situation of the city, and built a new one in a more advantageous position. But the Ephesians, who refused to remove to it, were very unwilling to quit their ancient habitations. Lyfimachus, therefore, caused all the drains that conveyed the water into the neighbouring fens to be privately stopped; so that on the first heavy rain the city was almost entirely laid under water, and the inhabitants were extremely glad to take refuge in the new city that Lyfimachus had prepared.

The temple of Ephesus was celebrated both for the length of time it was building, during which all the states of Greece contributed to its completion, and its destruction. It was burned by one Erostratus, in order that his name might descend to posterity. The Ephesians passed a decree, forbidding any person to pronounce this name; and it is, perhaps, this prohibition that has preserved it. Erostratus has been treated as a madman, be-

cause he burned a temple to eternize his name; while the wisdom of those is not even suspected who, from the same motive, carry fire and sword through whole provinces and kingdoms. But the madness of Erostratus was peculiar to himself. The temple was built in a marsh, that it might be less subject to earthquakes. Whole quarries were exhausted in its structure; and it was two hundred and twenty years in building. A hundred and twenty-seven kings sent each a column seventy feet high. The canals which discharged the waters of the marshes still remain, and are taken by the present inhabitants for a labyrinth. To secure the foundation of the conduits or sewers, which were to bear a building of such a prodigious weight, Pliny tells us they laid beds of charcoal well rammed, and upon them others of wool. The temple enjoyed the privilege of an asylum, which extended to a considerable distance from it. The priests employed in its service were greatly revered. To them was entrusted the care of the sacred virgins; but they first underwent an operation, which secured their restoring them as they received them. The great Diana of the Ephesians was a small statue of ebony, which was found in the trunk of a tree, and believed to be sent down from heaven by Jupiter. To the trunk of an elm, which was the first sanctuary of the goddess, succeeded the famous temple which was burned

down on the same day Alexander was born. That conqueror offered to rebuild it at his own expense, on condition the Ephesians would allow his name to be inscribed in the front. The Ephesians excused themselves from accepting this proposal with great ingenuity, by answering: "It is not fitting that one god should build a temple to another."

Ephesus was long the principal city of Ionia, and governed by kings, whose descendants, when it became a republic, enjoyed the privilege of wearing a scarlet cloak, a crown, and a sceptre. A tyrant, named Pythagoras, filled the city with blood; and did not even respect the asylum of the temple. His successors were supported in their power by the Persians. Alexander drove out the latter, and gave, as a revenue to the temple, all the tributes which the city paid to the Persians. In the war with Mithridates the Ephesians declared against the Romans, and massacred all of them they found in the city. The sanguinary Sylla punished this crime only by a fine. They were much addicted to magic. Ephesus is now reduced to a few cottages, inhabited by thirty or forty Greek families; the harbour, from which it originally derived its riches, is choaked up, and the temple, which greatly augmented them, destroyed.

Miletus.

If we believe ancient authors, the Milesians founded, some say, eighty, and others, three hun-

dred colonies. Their city possessed a temple of Apollo, and an oracle. Near Miletus was Mount Latmos, where the moon made secret visits to Endymion. Thales, one of the seven wise men, was born there. This city was agitated by domestic troubles, and the inhabitants not being able to terminate their differences, requested the Parians to become their arbitrators. The Parian deputies, when they arrived at Miletus, observed that the fields round the city were the greater part of them very ill cultivated, and requested that they might be permitted to examine them more closely. Having made this examination, they said to the Milesians: "Bestow the sovereign authority on those whose lands are in the best state of cultivation; for they who manage best their own affairs ought to be chosen to govern those of the public."

Miletus maintained with success, and with its own forces alone, a war against four successive kings of Lydia. The Persians, after having been the friends of Miletus, destroyed it, and carried away the inhabitants. The destruction of Miletus appeared to Phrynicus, an Athenian dramatic poet, a proper subject of tragedy. The misfortunes of the Milesians excited so much the compassion of the Athenians that the whole theatre burst into tears when the piece was represented, and the magistrates condemned the author to a fine for renewing the

memory of a calamity which they looked upon as having befallen themselves, ordering, at the same time, that the tragedy should never more be acted.

The Milesians returned from their captivity, and rebuilt their city, but they could never restore it to that wealth and splendour which caused it before to be considered as one of the first cities of Ionia. They had the misfortune to be frequently subjected by domestic tyrants. Among others of these was Thraſybulus, who maintained great tranquillity and union in the city. Periander, tyrant of Corinth, sent to him to enquire the secret by which he preserved such an undisturbed authority. Thraſybulus led the messenger through a corn field, and there, as it were by way of amusement, struck off all the ears of corn that overtopped the rest. The Corinthian understood the lesson, and reduced it to practice.

Alexander restored to the Milesians their liberty, though they did not submit to him till the last extremity. They enjoyed great privileges under the Roman republic, and still greater under the emperors.

All these cities composed what was called the Ionic league, the laws of which are not known. If there ever were any, they were not very vigorously enforced; for it appears that almost all these cities had little connexion with each other. A common

danger from any foreign power might unite them ; but when that was past, their love of independence again separated them.

Eleven cities composed *Æolis*, in which was *Æolis*, between *Ionia* and the *Propontis*.
Troas, the territory of Troy, more famous than all these eleven cities together. It may be a curious question for artists to determine in what manner the inhabitants of Pitane made bricks that would swim in water like wood.

Halicarnassus was the capital of Doris, and celebrated for the monument which Artemisia caused to be erected to her husband Mausolus. It was an edifice so magnificent, that it was considered as one of the wonders of the world. From the name of the king to whose memory it was erected, sepulchral monuments have been called mausoleums. No trace of this wonderful work of art are now remaining ; but the productions of the genius of Herodotus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, still remain. Heraclitus and Callimachus, two famous poets, were likewise natives of this city. Cnidus, another celebrated city, preserved the Venus of Praxiteles.

After having thus spoken of the principal cities of *Ionia*, if we wish to go back to the time of the first arrival of the Greeks in that country, we shall perceive it is not improbable that the inhabitants they found there were the descendants of Javan the fourth son of Japhet. But how difficult must it be to attain any thing like certainty, when we can-

Origin of the Ionians, government, religion, manners, commerce.

not even ascertain who those Greeks were, whether Argives, Messenians, Athenians, or others, who founded the first colonies? The preference is generally given to the Athenians, but without any great proofs. From the monarchical government, Ionia, in which must be included Æolis and Doris, passed to the republican with a greater or less intermixture of democracy. The religion of Ionia was the same with that of Greece. The Ionians, who had been very brave, became voluptuous, effeminate, and superstitious. To them is ascribed the invention of perfumes, the wearing of chaplets of flowers at banquets, and the art of preserving fruits, which were excellent in Ionia, one of the most delicious countries in the world, in which both foreign and indigenous productions abounded, which were exported to other countries in their numerous fleets. The Ionians found their place in the picture of those nations who have been pourtrayed by their tastes. The Crotonians, it was said, love the Olympic sports; the Spartans, fine armour; the Cretans, hunting; the Sybarites, magnificent dresses; and the Ionians, lascivious dances.

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Besides the particular shocks sustained by the cities of Ionia of which we have spoken, there were some that were common to them as a collective nation. Either as subjects or allies, they were under the government of Cræsus, to whom

they were greatly attached from the mildness of his administration. They sent ambassadors to Cyrus when he had conquered Cræsus, offering their submission; and humbly requesting that he would treat them with the same favour that they had experienced from the king of Lydia. But they made this submission with regret, and constrained by circumstances. Cyrus, therefore, answered them by the following apologue: “ A piper seeing numerous shoals of fish in the sea, and imagining he might entice them to leap on shore by his music, began to play; but not succeeding, he threw the net, and soon caught a great quantity. When he saw them leaping about on the land, he said to them: Since you did not think proper to dance to my music, it is to no purpose that you dance now.” This evidently means: Since you would not listen to me when I invited you with mildness, now I hold you by force I am not obliged to you for your submission.

The Ionians were subdued by the Persians, revolted, became the allies of their conquerors, assisted them in their expedition against Greece, and, in the moment of a decisive action, deserted them and rejoined the Greeks. They participated in the liberty which the Achæan and Ætolian leagues gave to their vicinity. The Romans flattered them, and at last subjected them, like the other Greeks. Like them also the Ionians detested

and massacred the Romans. Sylla punished them by depriving them of their liberty, and laying such heavy fines and taxes on their cities as reduced them to beggary. Ionia, impoverished and exhausted, recovered a little under the emperors, but never regained its former wealth and splendor.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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